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LETTERS

what Bundy demanded

Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIRS: The pretense at scholarly objectivity is too often a cloak for unscholarly license. A case in point is Theodore Draper, a typical "anti-Communist" who was the leading apologist for the government's position on Cuba. Draper found himself on the side of the angels in the Dominican intervention, more I suspect because he felt there really was no Communist danger there than because he is against intervention per se. But in the process he tried to indicate that there were some "good guys" in the government (like McGeorge Bundy) who sought a "softer" solution. This would make the intervention a "mistake," rather than part of an inherently false policy.

In *The Nation* of May 2 I published an article which detailed an understanding between a Dominican Social Christian leader, Dr. Antonio Rosario, and Jose Figueres of Costa Rica, who acted as intermediary with the White House. The understanding provided that some Communists would be sent into voluntary exile, along with top rightist military leaders, and the United States would withdraw.

"But by the time McGeorge Bundy came to Santo Domingo to implement this understanding," I continued, "it had been twisted beyond recognition. Instead of voluntary exile for the Communists he demanded that they be incarcerated in concentration camps. And instead of removing the Trujillista officers simultaneously, he agreed only to sending out the two most hated of them, Wessin and Rivera Caminero."

Draper took sharp exception to this statement, particularly the remark on "concentration camps." Then, after rebuking me—he wrote letters to a number of people, including Rosario, to check the facts!

Here is how Draper summarized Rosario's reply in an attack on me in another publication: "On the main point at issue, Dr. Rosario admits that he cannot vouch for Mr. Bundy's alleged demand for concentration camps because he was not in Santo Domingo in this period and has no first-hand knowledge of what went on in the negotiations with Mr. Bundy."

I have a copy of Rosario's letter, and it says just the opposite of what Draper implies. After confirming as "completely correct," "also correct," etc., other points in my article, Rosario says that while he was not in the country at the time, he did hear "commentaries" confirming what "Mr. Lens, the writer, refers to in the fourth paragraph on page 521 of *The Nation* of May 2nd [the paragraph quoted above] . . . *I should tell you that many serious Dominicans feel Mr. Bundy did make the demand which Mr. Lens attributes to him.*" (Italics added.)

In Santo Domingo last September I talked with two or three other well-informed men, including a former member of the reactionary Reid Cabral government, who similarly confirmed that Bundy had made this demand.

Sidney Lens

bread and butter

Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIRS: I was very much interested in Francis Pollock's comments on the troubles I ran into while producing the *South African Essay* television programs for National Educational Television ["Junkets to Apartheid: America's Press on Safari," *The Nation,* Nov. 7]. His list of American journalists who accepted invitations to visit South Africa as guests of that country's Information Service (SAIS) helps me to fill in some of the

(Continued on page 686)

EDITORIALS

The Spirit of '67

President Johnson has moistened his finger and thrust it aloft. The wind blows toward the right. When Mr. Johnson was the candidate for the Presidency, he avowed his undying admiration for Franklin D. Roosevelt; the wind then blew leftwards. There is no reason to believe that Mr. Johnson was insincere at that time—his subsequent domestic legislative program attests to his sincerity. But first and foremost he is a politician, and this is 1967 coming up. Neither the 1966 election returns nor the current polls indicate an irresistible swell of voter enthusiasm for Mr. Johnson and his entourage, and there is always the Vietnamese War which, barring a near miracle, will not make the sledding easier as the new year becomes old.

Yet, though the war will continue to be a political liability for the Democrats, it also affords chances for political maneuver which Mr. Johnson simply cannot overlook. In the New York *Daily News* (December 3) Jerry Greene, the paper's astute military analyst, remarks on one such opening: "No agency in government affords anything like the opportunity for financial hanky-panky that the Defense Department has to offer." The hanky-panky is not only financial but it can be used to take the heat off Secretary McNamara, who stands in relation to President Johnson somewhat as John Foster Dulles stood in relation to President Eisenhower. One of the outstanding facts of political life in Washington is the unpopularity of Mr. McNamara in the halls of Congress. In a way, the dislike of many Congressmen is to Mr. McNamara's credit: he explicates amiably enough, and tries hard to be modest, but he has made many a legislator look like a fool. But this is incidental. A lot of Republicans and Southern Democrats resent Mr. McNamara's spending practices, which are those of an honest hawk and efficiency engineer, eager to get on with the war and reluctant to spend for the sake of some Congressman's prestige or popularity in his home district. The new military budget will make concessions to these offended members. At the same time it can be justified to the voters on the ground that we are at war and must not let the boys down. The arms budget can be almost anything that Mr. Johnson decides to ask for, and the tax hike that is almost certainly in prospect can be justified in the same way. This is a triple play: deflect the Congressional lightnings from stout McNamara, make the escalating military budget look reasonable, and increase taxes while making protests seem unpatriotic.

So the trend to the right is inevitable. But what of the liberal Democrats, what of the Great Society, what of Sargent Shriver and economic opportunity, what of Bayard Rustin and A. Philip Randolph beseeching for a $185 billion "freedom budget" to "eliminate" poverty over the next ten years? They won't get $18.5 billion on account in 1967, that is certain. Nor will the mayors appealing for aid to the cities be invited to the LBJ Ranch to publicize their needs. It is economy-minded Republicans like Everett Dirksen and Gerald R. Ford (economy-minded when it comes to welfare) who now enjoy the Presidential hospitality. The liberal Democrats can bite their nails at home.

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There is danger for the President in this move toward the right, and no doubt he senses it. Once before, in 1960, the liberal, urban segment of the party ditched him in favor of John F. Kennedy; and now Robert Kennedy sits in the Senate and makes headlines. But the danger is in the future, and the difficulties resulting from the recent elections are now. Whatever recriminations and troubles may follow, the President's course for 1967 is clearly set.

The Dearborn Referendum

By the tacit agreement of almost everyone running for office last November 8, Vietnam was the unspoken issue of the campaign. In just one city—Dearborn, Mich.—the electorate was given a chance to say explicitly how it felt about that distant slaughter, still not dignified by the name of war. A referendum placed on the ballot there asked the voter: "Are you in favor of an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam, so the Vietnamese people can settle their problems among themselves?"

Of those voting, 78 per cent answered the question, 14,133 saying "yes" and 20,621 saying "no." In other words, 40 per cent of the voters in Dearborn who expressed a view oppose the killing in Vietnam—so much so that they support a proposed course of extreme unilateral action.

To some extent, the referendum reflected a class vote. In predominantly working-class precincts the "yes" vote varied from 40 to 51 per cent; in wealthy precincts it went from 30 to 40 per cent. The highest "no" vote, 70 per cent, was cast in a precinct where apartment house dwellers are in a majority. The residents there are for the most part engineers, teachers, librarians; many of them are not married. Looking at the referendum returns from the various areas in his city, Mayor Orville L. Hubbard said: "Where the cars are the shiniest and the homes the nicest and the children fewest, it gets the most 'no' votes. The burden of the war falls on the homes with the most children."

How did the referendum get on the ballot in Dearborn, a middle-class city with a reputation for conservatism and preoccupation with the problems of the automobile industry? It was Mayor Hubbard's idea. Hubbard, who has held his office for twenty-five years, is an ex-Marine and a man given to patriotic utterances on public occasions. He is also not a man of unparalleled saintliness: he runs a hard-boiled political machine, and the Michigan Civil Rights Commission has accused him of promoting racism. But Vietnam is more than he can swallow. He has been quoted as saying: "If I were a young man I would rather spend three years in prison than fight in Vietnam." Mayor Hubbard, it can be seen, does not lack political courage.

The Vietnam referendum received heavy coverage in the press of the area, and on election night Walter Kronkite gave it national publicity. It was indeed a newsworthy event. Can anyone recall another occasion when almost half of an American community advocated that American troops remove themselves without delay or guarantee from the field of a battle? This sentiment will rise as the gold stars proliferate across the country. President Johnson has already made the United States the loneliest country in the world; the day is perhaps not distant when he will perceive that he has become the loneliest man in America.

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The Draft Run-Around

It is quite a spectacle to see Secretary of Labor Wirtz and Secretary of Defense McNamara reacting to the draft with the impatience and lack of deliberation of placard-carrying collegians. Intelligent men in responsible positions do not participate in protest marches when they are frustrated by inaction; they make public speeches of high imagination and low practical content.

In the past few weeks, Mr. McNamara has spoken out for a lottery as the solution of Selective Service inequities, and Mr. Wirtz has publicly proposed an extension of the "alternate-service" idea to cover all young people. The fact that they are still testing ideas rather than executing them or framing new legislation gives one the uneasy feeling that the attack on the problems of the draft still has no focus. Unhappily, even modest solutions have eluded the normal processes of government for some time now.

¶ In the spring of 1963, Congress passed an extension of the Draft Act with almost no deliberation or debate.

¶ In September, 1963, President Kennedy revised draft priorities to cut down some uncertainties, but it was quickly evident that this was tinkering with the apparatus rather than reforming it.

¶ In the fall of 1963, a highly constructive set of hearings by Senator Clark's subcommittee on employment and manpower showed that military manpower policies should be part of a national manpower policy; nothing seemed to come of the suggestion.

¶ In January, 1964, a Kennedy-appointed task force recommended that the draft apparatus be used to identify rejects early enough for rehabilitation. After almost three years of desultory Executive action, Secretary McNamara finally announced this fall that the armed forces would try to rehabilitate 80,000 first-round rejects per year.

¶ In the spring of 1964, criticism of draft policies by a group of Congressmen caused President Johnson to commission a top-level Pentagon study of the feasibility of an all-volunteer armed forces. The study took a whole year to complete and was not made available to Congress for yet another year.

¶ Early in 1966, the pressure of the fighting in Vietnam once more brought the draft itself under fire. Congressmen who wanted action were referred to their own House Armed Services Committee, which did nothing for four months until the public outcry finally forced the committee to review the status of the draft. The hearings provided a public forum for new ideas, old gripes, countermeasures and reforms, but at the end of June it was announced that no legislative action would be forthcoming.

¶ Meanwhile, Secretary McNamara was stirring hope for some sort of Executive action with his support in May, 1966, of the idea of universal national service. The hope was dampened when President Johnson appointed a new commission to study the plan and report by January 1, 1967. The formation of the Marshall Commission also served neatly to undercut the House hearings, which promptly folded. But then in December the House Armed Services Committee announced that its own advisory panel was studying the subject, presumably for the purpose of giving Congress a position on the draft independent of Presidential recommendation.

¶ Of all the dissatisfaction brought out at last June's hearings, Selective Service Director Hershey seemed most concerned by the suggestion that young men were escaping the draft by staying on in graduate school. He thereupon ordered draft physicals for those over age 26—in apparent conflict with the Pentagon's preference for draftees under 20.

¶ Now, while the Marshall Commission is studying and Congress is waiting to hear from its panel, Secretaries Wirtz and McNamara are still floating trial balloons.

And so goes the perennial draft run-around. Why should the reform of Selective Service be so hard to manage? Probably because the people think Congress is responsible, while Congress thinks it has provided enough leeway for Executive action. The President thinks the Director of Selective Service is in charge, while the latter supposes that all he has to do is to keep the machinery ticking. Nowhere in this chain of responsibility is there any clear provision for a vigorous, imaginative and continuing oversight of Selective Service and a persuasive articulation of its purposes and forms to an increasingly restive public.

It is time for President Johnson to order a reorganization of the administration of Selective Service so that it will be more sensitive to changing times and public opinion, and so that responsibility for changes and reforms will be much more clearly delineated. Until that happens the draft run-around is likely to continue.

The Lost Agency

Whatever happened to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission? It was set up under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to administer Title VII, designed to ban discrimination in employment because of race, religion, sex or country of origin. The history of the commission so far offers little hope that these objectives will be achieved.

First, Congress permitted one year to elapse before Title VII could take effect. This was to give the Administration time to "gear up" for the job. The President did not appoint commissioners until May 10, 1965, less than two months before the provision was to take effect. On July 2, the commission opened its doors with only a partial staff and no clear definition of policy.

Last May 11, the commission chairman, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., resigned to try his luck in New York State politics. Stephen N. Shulman was not named to replace him until mid-September. Obviously the commission was still running in low gear.

Richard A. Graham, appointed for one year, left on July 2 when his term expired. Then Mrs. Aileen C. Hernandez of San Francisco resigned. Mrs. Hernandez had given every promise of energetic action. She holds a B.S. in political science from Howard University and an M.A. in government from Los Angeles State College. She has been a teacher, research assistant and publicist for the West Coast Region of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. As a commissioner, she was earning $26,000 a year, and her appointment was for five years. But she quit after serving only fifteen months.

Mrs. Hernandez departed because she was losing her self-respect. In a then confidential memorandum to her fellow commissioners in September, and in later communications,

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she asserted that the commission "has not been working as a coordinated team" and that it has not been as aggressive in certain areas as it might have been. The backlog now totals 81,500 cases, about one-third concerning sex bias. President Johnson never acknowledged Mrs. Hernandez's letter of resignation. The President's personnel adviser, John Macy, telephoned, saying that he wanted to discuss the matter further, and that was the last of it. The EEOC is now short two commissioners.

Job discrimination is of vital importance in the whole civil rights movement. Some unions and a considerable segment of management are reported to be eager to eliminate discrimination. Many managements, in the South especially, have real problems with their employees. They need guidance. They have not been getting it, although the commission is said to include some capable staff people, eager to get on with the job.

The basic trouble is in the Executive office. The commission has never as a group met with the President. That is only a ceremony, not a substitute for work, but it has symbolic importance and its neglect is also symbolic. Given adequate funds and capable, energetic people, the commission has great potential in the civil rights field. It deserves the support it has not been getting.

More Furor at Berkeley

Once again the University of California at Berkeley has been in an uproar, with perhaps as many as 5,000 of the 27,000 students staying away from classes (on December 1) and the local and campus police battling student (and nonstudent) demonstrators. The only one who is in a position to gain by the disorder is Governor-elect Ronald Reagan, who has a characteristically simple remedy.

"No one is compelled to attend the university," Reagan argues. "Those who do attend should accept and obey the prescribed rules or pack up and get out." Editorial opinion in general backs up this concept of an absolutist university administration. Chancellor Roger Heyns is commended for "firmness," as if a militant stand on the part of the administration were, in itself, any more a cure for a deep-seated malaise than militancy on the part of the disaffected members of the student body.

Amid all the clamor, the *Daily Californian* makes some sensible points. The administration should never have allowed the Navy to set up a recruiting table at the student union. This was a location where nonstudents are not allowed to set up informational tables, and an angry protest was sure to follow. The protest, however, could have taken a more sensible form. The objecting students should have set up an anti-military table nearby, and the next move would have been up to the administration. Instead, picketing of the Navy installation gave the administration an excuse for calling in the police.

Neither side proved itself capable of "acting in any situation where there is no immediate gratification of immediate confrontation." The *Daily Californian* applied this specifically to the campus radicals, but it is equally true of the administration which, one would expect, might show more moderation than its young opponents.

Underlying this particular fracas is the movement for more student participation in university government. At Michigan, students resolutely insist on a say in certain phases of administration. California and Michigan are the two liveliest campuses in the country today, and City College of New York is not far behind. Public attention should be focused not on the histrionics of these situations but on the serious issues behind all the sound and fury.

A Year of Peace

As in previous years, the War Resisters League now offers for sale a 1967 desk calendar which presents on pages facing the calendar pages a splendid collection of poetry dealing with peace and brotherhood. The cover drawing is by Ben Shahn, the preface is by Kenneth Patchen, the verse was compiled by Scott Bates. Copies at $1.50 each (five for $7) are sent postpaid in the United States from the League's office, 5 Beekman Street, New York, N.Y. 10038.

SINGAPORE

ONE-PARTY DEMOCRACY

ALEX JOSEY

Mr. Josey has been a free-lance correspondent in the Far East for the past eighteen years. He is the author of Socialism in Asia *and* Trade Unions in Malaya.

Singapore

It seems that the Republic of Singapore, Asia's new state, is going to have a single-party Parliament (the People's Action Party), with no opposition, at least until the next general election, sometime before the end of 1968. All the Barisan Sosialis Members of Parliament, the total elected opposition, have resigned (except for two who have gone underground: curiously enough they were given leaves of absence by the Speaker), and in a recent by-election involving three constituencies, three People's Action Party candidates were returned unopposed. Both the Singapore Alliance (a right-wing party which barely exists), and the Singapore United Malays National Organization made excuses for offering no candidates (UMNO is not yet legally registered anyhow); the small Party Rakyat (extreme Left) and the independents, collectively and individually, remained sensibly silent. This means that in a House of fifty-one, the PAP now occupies forty-four seats, with five seats vacant. The government can order by-elections to fill them whenever it feels inclined; there is no time limit.

The only other country I know of in this part of the world whose Parliament consists entirely of popularly elected

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members from a single party is the Kingdom of Cambodia. To keep his ministers on their toes, Prince Sihanouk, the Cambodian head of state and leader of the Cambodian People's Socialist Party, insists upon having a shadow cabinet named and ready to take office should the existing cabinet falter. This is not possible, even if desirable, in the Republic of Singapore, where President Yusof is above politics, and Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew considers his real challenge to come from the secret Malayan Communist Party which has an underground movement in Singapore.

The Prime Minister would prefer to have a tough, constructive opposition in Parliament, but the Barisan Sosialis (which the government says is a Communist front) has announced its intention, instead, to take the struggle to the people in the streets—thereby, remarked Lee, committing political suicide and inviting jail if its members become lawbreakers. Dr. Goh Keng Swee, Minister for Defense and Internal Security, promptly warned he would "wallop" them if they used violence. Since then, starting on the eve of President Johnson's visit to Kuala Lampur, more than thirty Barisan leaders have been put into prison without trial.

Does a one-party Parliament mean that democracy in the Republic of Singapore is finished? Not so long as there are provisions for elections at which voters may reject the PAP by supporting other candidates. Not unnaturally, the PAP government says that no other candidates are available at the moment because they all know they would be defeated by the PAP. The government claims that by and large, the people of Singapore are satisfied with the state of things. Critics may argue that the public is forced into acquiescence by the highly efficient propaganda machine which the present government operates, including radio, television, an abundant weekly supply of Ministry of Culture free public film shows, and magazines in four languages; and by the PAP government's expensive public service arrangements which include handouts to the poor and aged, well-run community centers (television, cooking classes and other facilities), the People's Association (all kinds of sports), the Work Brigade, the Leadership Institute, and so on. Lee Kuan Yew's brief answer would be that if the PAP government were inefficient or oppressive, the people would very quickly seize all opportunities, including by-elections, to chuck it out of office.

And I would say also that they are not very much interested in parliamentary democracy. They want good government. They want an outlet for protest, and they have it. Both the party organization and the government invite complaints and criticism, and when these are brought forward they are always most carefully considered. The Prime Minister has issued a standing instruction to all civil servants that letters to the press must be answered by a responsible official of the department under attack. Thus, the Commissioner for Inland Revenue, N.V. Casey (an Australian), is a fairly regular participant in the correspondence exchange of the national newspapers: income tax is as unpopular in Singapore as it is anywhere else.

Some observers contend that the PAP's integrity and efficiency, supported by a monopoly of all propaganda media, has been largely responsible for the single-party Parliament, but that the party did not seek this situation, and does not particularly like it. There are other factors. For one, there is not much room on this small island of 2 million people for more than a single good non-Communist party. Lee Kuan Yew's brand of socialism is so embracing that progressive employers find it as acceptable as do the trade unionists. Nowhere in the state are there serious injustices, areas of intense discontent, which demand remedy and which other parties or pressure groups might exploit. That is partly why the Barisan quit Parliament: its members found to their chagrin that cunning Lee Kuan Yew always appeared to have covered every aspect of every problem in advance of complaint, leaving them scant material for criticism. Besides, they realized that their parliamentary speeches would inevitably be cut drastically to "fit safely" into the radio's parliamentary report. Knowing the Communists well, having worked with them when the PAP was a united front against colonialism, and being in addition a brilliant debater, Lee has been able to dominate the House so completely that the Barisan saw his eminence as another reason for getting out. In brief, they were no match for him. By any standards, they were a poor opposition. Dr. Lee Siew Chou, the Barisan leader, lost his seat in the 1963 elections. He was known in Parliament for his marathon and very dull speeches.

While the PAP is not acutely worried about a single-party Parliament, its leaders have thought it well to explain their views on the matter. They have issued a statement saying that now that the Barisan has abandoned its constitutional role of opposition, "it becomes the responsibility of the government to act as its own critic. But the ultimate test of any system of government is whether it continues to give the people a better life and a secure future. There are far more serious problems ahead for Singapore to tackle than the antics of Barisan Sosialis street mobs. The police will look after that. It is to problems affecting our economic and political survival that the government, Parliament and people should now devote their serious attention."

In a talk to the Democratic Socialist Club at the University of Singapore, S. Rajaratnam, the Foreign Minister and party theoretician, said Singapore's problem "is not whether the people are free to elect a government of their own choice, but whether they can be relied upon to elect an effective opposition." He added that interested Independents had pleaded with the PAP not to contest certain constituencies. Save democracy, they cried, by letting others win a by-election or two. The Foreign Minister confessed he had never heard of this test of democracy before. In practice, he said, it meant that democracy in Singapore was the right of all political parties to contest elections except the PAP because they would win them all if they did. But what about the wishes of the voters? This new concept of democracy ignored them. What is democratic about compelling the voters to elect an opposition candidate when they would prefer someone from PAP?

Mr. Rajaratnam suggested that Parliament lacked an opposition because political parties in Singapore have never studied their potential strength in that role. In the past, every political party concentrated upon being a governing party. But in a democracy, a political party has a dual role: to be a potential government and also an opposition. "Until you start thinking deeply about that aspect of the problem, I say we are not going to have an opposition

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ever." Mr. Rajaratnam considered that the Barisan Sosialis was a natural opposition to the PAP, but went wrong by being exclusively destructive, as well as by espousing indefensible causes. Nobody was interested. "Consequently the Barisan have reduced themselves to a street gang."

In principle and practice, the Foreign Minister considered an effective parliamentary opposition necessary; he doubted that one would emerge in the next general election, but thought it might in the election after that. He gave an assurance that the PAP was not going itself to create an opposition by leaving constituencies uncontested. "We will fight every election and concede victory to an opposition which has got the mettle, got the guts, got the intelligence, to outwit us. Then they deserve to inherit from the PAP."

Backbenchers, meanwhile, are being called upon to ask questions and to go through the motions of moving reduction in votes to permit debates. This does not produce an interesting Parliament, and any government which has to rely upon academic criticism instead of the fierce challenge which makes ministers wince and do their homework is bound to get complacent, if nothing worse—even though in this case the specter of the Malayan Communist Party may hover outside the House.

But real problems can be self-agitating, and they exist without an opposition. Lee Kuan Yew does not give the impression that he considers an opposition in Parliament a current necessity, as long as the Republic of Singapore continues to be a developing state in a troubled area which includes Vietnam and China. What is provided in Singapore is sound government, opportunity for public protest, and facilities for the peaceful removal, should the people demand, of the government of the day. The Prime Minister is well aware of the dangers of success. His attitude is that single-party Parliament has happened, and the PAP can cope with that situation.

DRIVE: Teamsters in Politics

TERRY ELIOT TORNEK

Mr. Tornek, a senior in the Woodrow Wilson School for Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, worked last summer with the DRIVE program.

The Teamsters' union, more often feared than frightened, is worried—and with good reason. It is not Bobby Kennedy or the National Association of Manufacturers that scares the largest trade union in the world, but an anti-labor Congress. The Teamsters' answer is DRIVE — Democrat Republican Independent Voter Education.

Historically, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters made a point of avoiding politics wherever possible in the years of the New Deal and up into the 1950s. Teamster presidents Tobin and Beck had excellent relations with their counterparts in the White House, but the union rank and file was never organized politically. However, after the passage of Taft-Hartley (1947) and Landrum-Griffin (1959), Teamster leadership realized that it would have to make the presence of its vast membership felt in the political balance or risk losing benefits painfully won over the years.

Convinced that Congress has a consistently anti-labor bias, the Teamsters decided to fight punitive legislation through effective lobbying and highly visible political activity at the grass-roots level. These two operations are interdependent, for the desires of a single organization are expressed through lobbying, which in turn has its greatest impact when supported by votes.

Landrum-Griffin forbids the use of union funds in federal elections, an imposing financial handicap for DRIVE. In the last two years the Teamsters seem to have found the answer—"Operation Checkoff." Since union meetings are not generally well attended (save at contract time) DRIVE goes directly to the people on the job. The selling approach is simple and direct. The solicitors review the benefits the men derive from their union and then explain that Congress can sweep these benefits away at any time. This past summer Congressional efforts to quash the airline strike provided a particularly vivid illustration of the threat posed by an anti-labor Congress.

The next step is to explain the function of DRIVE. The men are told that as DRIVE members they will receive a copy of the *DRIVE Reporter*, a magazine designed to tell them who their friends really are in Congress, explain the effect that pending legislation may have on their jobs and families, and keep them apprised of what DRIVE people in Washington are doing to safeguard their interests. It is emphasized that no one will try to order them how to vote, that DRIVE is partisan only to labor, that it is not wedded to the Democratic Party and that in fact one of every three candidates it endorses is a Republican.

Regarding disbursement of the funds being solicited, the men are told that half the money will remain with their local DRIVE chapter to support pro-labor candidates of their choosing, conduct educational seminars, and finance motorcades to Washington. The other half goes to National DRIVE to pay for the magazine and other educational material and to support field workers.

The program is presented as a cheap form of insurance—protection against loss of desirable union benefits through political means. The DRIVE agents make clear that the program is purely voluntary, but it sells well. More than 90 per cent of the men who are approached join up.

Once the members sign the authorization slip, $5 is automatically deducted from their wages annually (hence "checkoff") unless they revoke the authorization. This fee entitles the Teamster to a family membership—a fact of great importance, since it is the Teamsters' wives who really make the program go. DRIVE was kicked off in 1961 through a series of thirty-two luncheons given around the country by Mrs. James Hoffa, and today DRIVE

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Ladies' Auxiliaries (DLAs) outnumber DRIVE chapters by 140 to 128. Why this emphasis on women? Sidney Zagri, Teamster legislative counsel, lobbyist and DRIVE executive director explains: "150 determined women can elect or defeat any Congressman." DRIVE relies on the women to staff local political programs because the men may not be enthusiastic about canvassing or manning telephones after driving a truck for eight hours, while their wives have both the time and the inclination to participate in this type of activity. They feel that they are helping to safeguard their husbands' livelihoods and protect the welfare of their families. Also, DRIVE activities are designed to have social as well as political appeal: bake sales, potluck suppers, dances, etc. And there are the motorcades.

DRIVE motorcades have brought 15,000 Teamster wives from forty-two states to Washington, D.C. The women arrive via bus or airplane (making it a jetcade), are handed a fat fact book on pending legislation which may affect them and their families, are primed with questions and turned loose on their Senators and Representatives. The effect can be devastating.

Consider the plight of the hapless Congressman, who has voted "wrong" 90 per cent of the time, when he is confronted by ten or fifteen irate Teamster wives. They are all from his district, all registered voters, all familiar with his voting record and pending legislation, and all unhappy about his past performance. Later, when Zagri comes to see him about a particular piece of legislation and informs the shaken lawmaker that there are several thousand more DRIVE members, all registered voters, in his district, he may re-evaluate his position. At the least, he will be more attentive to Zagri's presentation.

Vice President Humphrey has said the motorcades were the greatest lobbying job he had ever seen, and at the Teamsters' convention in Miami last summer films showed nine Senators congratulating the ladies on a job well done. Such testimonials indicate the importance of the motorcades as a lobbying device, but their impact on the female participants is even greater than on the Congressmen visited. When the Teamsters' wives return from Washington, they are filled with enthusiasm for DRIVE and are living advertisements for the program. They have been to the capital and actually talked to their Congressmen and Senators on equal terms. This gives them stature in the eyes of their home-bound girl friends, who want to know how they too can get to D.C.— thus recruiting new volunteers.

Yet the junkets are not an unqualified success. Motorcade participants may be enthusiastic about DRIVE when they first get home, but the enthusiasm wanes quickly. This happens to a large extent because a program designed to hold their interest has not been sufficiently developed, and it raises the broader issue of DRIVE's overall problems.

Despite Zagri's emphasis on coordinating grass-roots field activity and Washington lobbying, the fundamental difficulty confronting DRIVE is the split between national and local forces. With the notable exception of the motorcade program, where national and local interests mesh beautifully, there is too little coordination between Washington and the field. For example, the local people may endorse a challenger for a Senate seat when Zagri has established excellent relations with the incumbent, or they may ignore his request for a letter-writing campaign or a new educational program.

Part of the difficulty arises from the very newness of DRIVE. Though started in 1961, it has begun to pick up steam (through checkoff) only in the last year or two, and is still clearly in its formative stages. One reason for this limited development is lack of funds. The checkoff is well received, but it does not produce a huge bank roll, and the millions of dollars sitting in the Teamsters' treasury are of no value to DRIVE, thanks to Landrum-Griffin. The program must operate with a skeleton crew. Zagri yearns for an education director, a membership director, a motorcade coordinator—people to whom he could delegate responsibility while himself retaining overall control.

The result has been a crash program for new members and more money. But absolute numbers and the dollars they represent are not an accurate measure of DRIVE's success. There must also be thorough follow through in the form of steward and DLA seminars, more motorcades, voter-registration drives—programs that will hold the interest of new members. In the long run, the tactic of "five bucks and good-by" may alienate more people than the money is worth.

Underlying these financial restrictions, however, is a far more difficult problem. It is suspicion, and it operates on three levels.

Teamster leadership is composed primarily of tough men who have struggled to get to the top. They are proud of their achievement and wary lest someone usurp any of their power. These men may enjoy being courted by a local politician, but they think politics a dirty business and would like to have as little as possible to do with it. However, Hoffa has committed the Teamsters to an active political stance, with their consent. They realize that some sort of political program is essential to the continued good health of the union, and are willing to cooperate, often grudgingly, with DRIVE. At the same time, they do not like the idea of a non-rank-and-file type, like Zagri, building a strong organization "of his own" and "getting in good" with Hoffa. Some of them feel that DRIVE meddles too much in their private kingdoms and will not issue it an entrance visa at all. In other locals, DRIVE programs are in reality completely controlled by the leadership on the spot and Zagri's directives from Washington are ignored. Local autonomy, a basic tenet of Teamster philosophy, is a great obstacle to a cohesive, centrally directed, political program.

Suspicion operates in much the same way down at the business-agent level. Since agents are only a step above the rank and file and may face a real struggle for reelection every three years, they are far more sensitive to an outside challenge than are the relatively well-entrenched higher-ups. Many are suspicious of *anyone* talking to *their* boys about *anything*. Some will not permit even the formation of a DLA, lest a wife become so political-minded that she try to elect her husband business agent.

The attitude of the agent is of paramount importance, for without his cooperation the program has almost no chance of success. If he refuses to go around with the DRIVE director or crash-program team, or undercuts them by grimacing, yawning or dozing during the spiel, few

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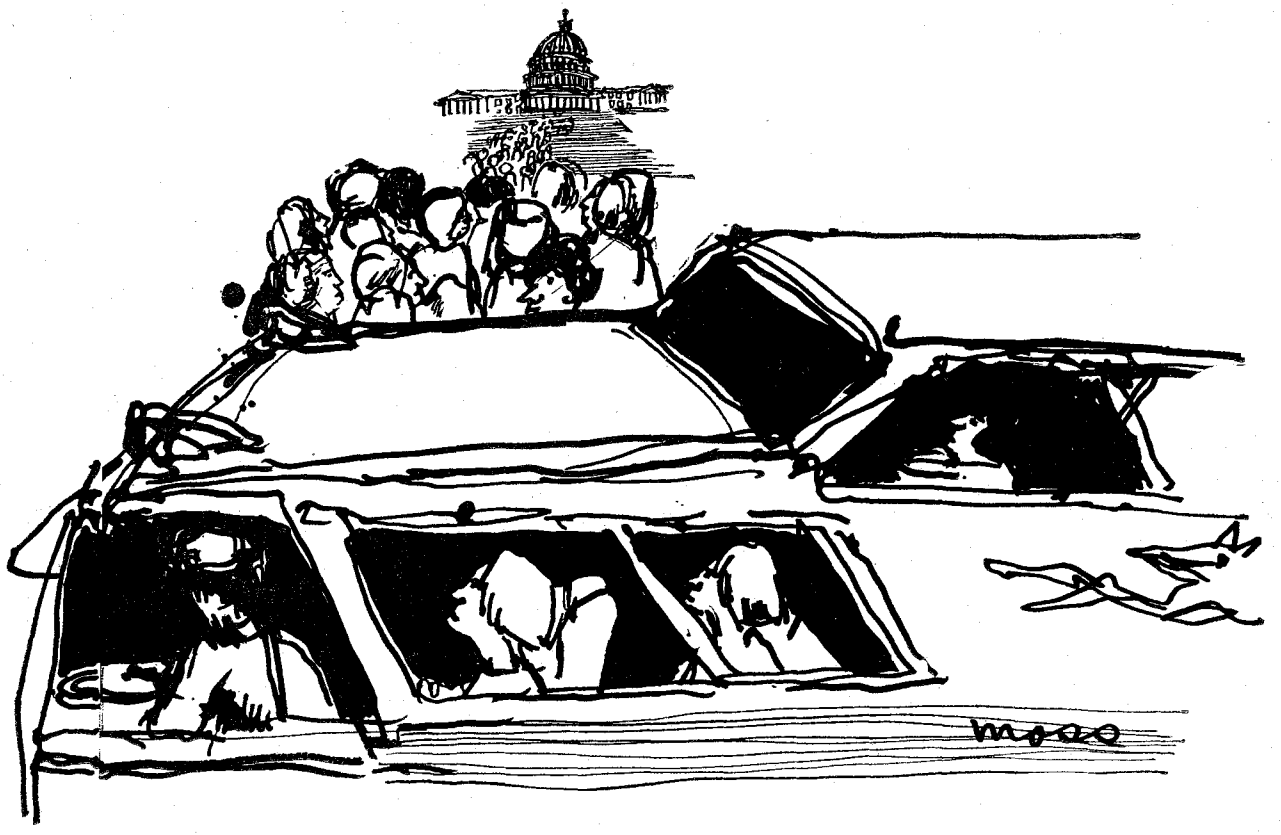

memberships will be sold at that particular truck dock or barn. The men look to their business agents for leadership and direction, for they are even more unfriendly to outsiders than he is. And it is at this third level, the rank and file, that suspicion is most debilitating.

The average Teamster is not well educated. He is also not often registered to vote. He hates politics and politicians even more than his officers do, and the thought of giving his money to a politician outrages him. Selling the rank and file is DRIVE's toughest job, yet where it has been permitted to try, and afforded even a minimal amount of cooperation, it has done remarkably well.

To achieve any real success, DRIVE must motivate a poorly educated, generally apathetic blue-collar worker to register, read enough material to discover who labor's friends are, and vote accordingly. This is no mean task. The *DRIVE Reporter* is thumbed through quickly. Men who do not attend union meetings are even less likely to show up at something as abstruse as a DRIVE meeting where a politician is to speak. And, since politicians are all crooks anyway, what's the difference who gets elected?

The truck driver must be made aware of a direct threat from the political quarter before he will appreciate DRIVE's purpose. The secretary-treasurer of an Ohio local tells of how 1,000 Teamsters in a car-hauling local ignored the program until a "pro-railroad" legislature put all but 250 of them out of work. Now they discuss politics *in depth* at their regular union meetings. According to this union official: "Some people have to be knocked down and stomped on before they wake up—but when they do, watch out!"

DRIVE is attempting to arouse the rank and file before they get stomped on, but in view of the obstacles it is remarkable that it has enjoyed any success at all. Still, there are hopeful signs:

¶ In Cleveland, DRIVE was the only organization a long-term Congressman had behind him in a primary race that he finally won by a razor-thin margin of 244 votes.

¶ In Cedar Rapids, DRIVE was responsible for the re-election of the only large county Republican state Senator to survive the 1964 Goldwater debacle.

¶ In Michigan, DRIVE elected a Teamster wife to the State Assembly.

Such scattered examples do not prove that DRIVE has successfully mobilized 1,780,000 Teamsters. They do show that its potential is great.

This is by no means the first time that labor has tried to assert itself politically. The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) is older, more widely known, and has enjoyed a significant measure of success. DRIVE is different from the larger organization in several important ways. It does not have to contend with inter-union frictions. Unlike COPE, it is truly bipartisan. Most important of all, DRIVE is actively attempting to reach down to the grass roots, whereas the COPE approach is characterized by some DRIVE personnel as a "paper program."

Nearly 2 million Teamster votes, when combined with the votes of wives, relatives and friends, is quite a formidable array of political firepower. If given the cooperation it needs from the Teamster hierarchy, and directed by men who understand the local union scene, DRIVE can succeed. Says the director of Minnesota DRIVE: "You come back in three years. Eighty per cent of the men will know what DRIVE is and the Congressmen that aren't afraid of us now will be." His timetable may be wrong, but his dream may very well come true.

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FAO: The Imperative of Altruism

GUNNAR MYRDAL

Mr. Myrdal is professor of international economics at the University of Stockholm. His latest book is Challenge to Affluence *(Pantheon). The material in this article was originally presented as an address to the FAO Biannual Conference in 1965.*

When the charter establishing the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) was signed at Quebec in October, 1945, a few months after the end of World War II, the organization had a membership of forty-four countries. At that time, very few of the underdeveloped countries in Asia and Africa existed as independent political entities. Huge China—thousands of years old—was free from the fetters in which the great powers had held it for a century, and so was little Thailand; Latin America had the same political structure as today; India's political independence was anticipated; but all the other underdeveloped countries were colonial dependencies of one appellation or another. The present membership of more than 110 countries, the great majority of which are underdeveloped, reflects in this UN organization the decolonization that has avalanched across the globe.

But at Quebec, and at the other early conferences, Asia and Africa did not exist as problems of FAO; they were problems for the colonial powers and it was not considered proper for an intergovernmental organization to probe into them too deeply. It was thus possible for the nations to discuss agriculture without giving very much thought to the needs of the poor peoples of the world. They were the responsibility of the colonial powers, who for obvious reasons were not eager to account for them before a world body; nor were the non-colonial powers eager to share the burden. If any of the colonial powers had asked for assistance in its task of meeting the needs of its colonies, the help would have been considered as given to the metropolitan power and apportioned accordingly. Since this seldom, if ever, happened, FAO could be viewed in 1945 as an organization for gathering statistics about crops, trade and related matters, and for technical consultation.

I point to this tremendous difference between the world in 1945 and today because the full impact of what has happened is seldom realized. There is much to criticize in colonial rule; I know it better than the average man because I have been laboring for nine years on a study of South Asia, where almost a quarter of mankind is struggling to survive and develop. But colonial rule also implied colonial responsibility and both have disappeared together. The former colony is now on its own, and the burden it has to carry is often almost unbearable, if it must carry it alone. The disappearance of colonial responsibility has created a vacuum into which the intergovernmental organizations were bound to move. At the same time, the population explosion—which is mainly a post-colonial event not foreseen in 1945—makes all the economic problems of the poor countries much more difficult to solve.

Under the pressure of these world trends, all the technical intergovernmental organizations in the UN family have changed their character and became increasingly operational agencies for aiding underdeveloped countries. Though for good reasons they wish to maintain their multilateral structure—where every country, even the poorest, is a contributor and every country, even the richest, is a potential beneficiary, with trivial exceptions—the foods are made available by a small minority of rich, developed countries for the benefit of the underdeveloped countries. In this process the UN organizations have come to handle and transfer funds—made available in their budgets and in other ways—which are many times the size foreseen in their early years.

As an economist, I consider this great change in the role of the intergovernmental organizations a shift in the right direction. We should deceive ourselves, however, if we believed that the funds spent for development and the activities financed by these funds would make more than a dent in world poverty. Even if to the funds sluiced through the intergovernmental organizations we add the sums given by rich countries unilaterally, the total is grossly inadequate from a world economic point of view. At the same time, the actual sacrifices made in the rich countries to carry out this aid activity are really insignificant. One per cent of national income—that is, only a fraction of the yearly increase of national income in the rich countries (which are all really "developing" countries)—has been set as a goal. It is seldom reached, despite the fact that statistics on aid usually include not only grants and concessional loans but also all financing by governmental agencies and private sources, much of which is just good, profitable business.

None of the rich countries contributes to the development of underdeveloped countries to anywhere near the extent they are prepared to pay for important national purposes. A frequent comparison is with the costs for war preparation. For the world as a whole, these must now be considerably above $200 billion, if we include what the economists call the opportunity costs; that is, the loss of income by the men who are drafted, not to speak of the national sacrifice of having so large a part of the scientific and engineering personnel tied down in nonproductive activity.

Contrary to expectations a decade ago, not only grants and concessional loans but also the total flow of financial resources from developed to underdeveloped countries have leveled off in the past several years. As far as private long-term investment is concerned, this is partly a reaction to the slowing down of development in underdeveloped countries during the first five years of the sixties—which was declared in a unanimous UN resolution to be the Development Decade. It is also partly caused by boundary struggles and internal political instability in many underdeveloped countries.

In addition, the governments of the rich countries are moved to a restrictive attitude toward all financial outflow by the exchange difficulties into which they have brought themselves by overexpansion and a lax fiscal policy. The preservation of internal and external balance in the economic development of rich countries does not, in my opinion, constitute an unsolvable technical problem. It is a field

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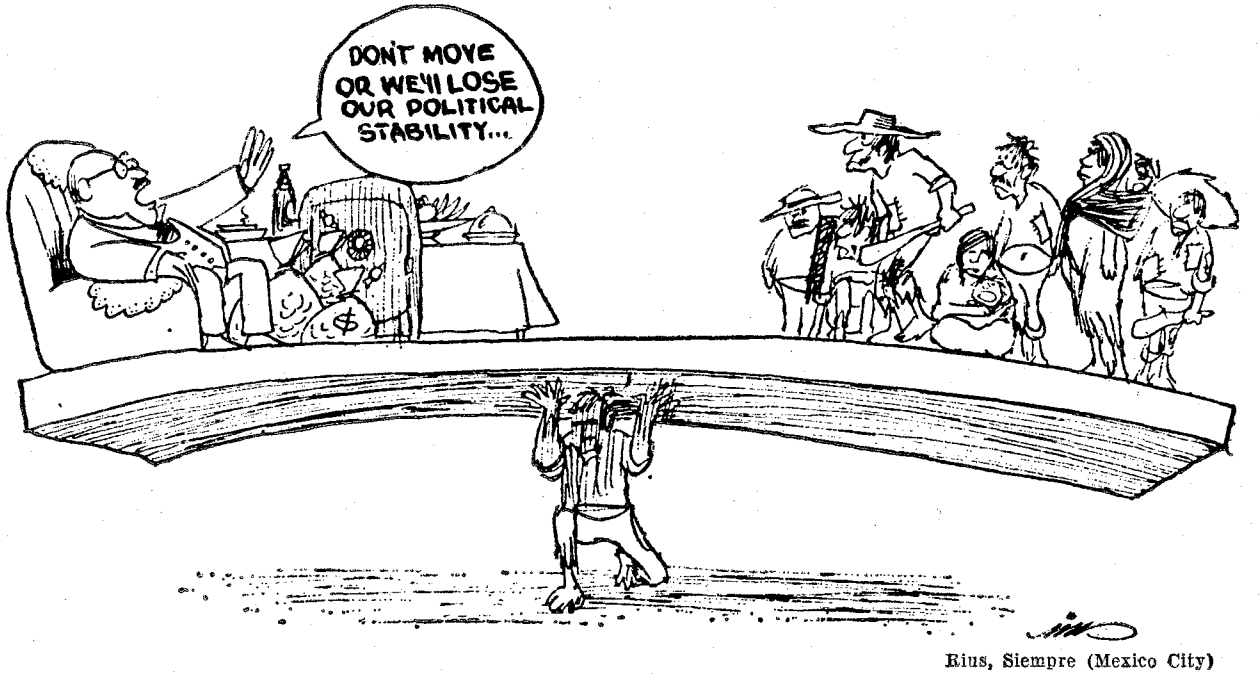
in which policies are dangerously lagging behind our available knowledge.

This situation has also made the rich countries unwilling to do anything substantial to help the poor countries improve their precarious international trade balance by permitting them to increase their exports. On the whole, such an increase of exports from underdeveloped countries would be in the interest of the rich countries, too, as the exports would mainly compete with sectors that should shrink in any rationally planned development. What the underdeveloped countries can demand is not only freer access to markets but a discrimination in their favor which would only tend to restore a measure of world balance. The important thing that happened in last year's world conference in Geneva on trade and development was that the great majority of underdeveloped countries succeeded in joining together to formulate their demands for a change in the world structure of international trade. If accomplished, it would help them much more than any aid program that is at present within sight. Initially, the positions taken by the rich countries have not been encouraging.

When I am traveling, meeting people and following the press in many different countries, I feel a growing popular apathy to a more generous policy toward the poor countries. In a sense, those of us who recognize the seriousness of present trends, and the paramount importance of much more international solidarity, have been too successful in spreading our knowledge and simplifying it to the extent that it has become coined into commonplaces. It is now heard as a sort of Sunday sermon, divorced from weekday practical life. Public men, teachers, preachers, leaders in all sorts of organizations, journalists, authors and, of course, politicians on solemn occasions all repeat it: The mass poverty in underdeveloped countries is almost beyond the grasp of our understanding; there is disease and illiteracy; the income gap between developed and underdeveloped countries is not only very wide but continually widening; in recent years development has tended to slow down instead of speed up; as many as two-thirds of the people in underdeveloped countries suffer from malnutrition; food production in recent years has not kept pace with the population increase in Latin America, Asia and Africa; regardless of whatever progress there is in the spread of birth control, the increase in world population between now and the end of this century will equal or exceed the current population and this increase will mainly occur in the underdeveloped nations. The recording of these facts is commonly accompanied by declarations that the ideal of social justice makes international action to overcome the plight of underdeveloped countries a binding duty.

In the rich countries there must by now be few persons with even an average interest in public affairs who have not had these facts and that moral judgment impressed upon them time and again. They incorporate them in their world outlook, but ordinarily they do not translate them into a willingness to take action, least of all action that would imply real sacrifice. Nowhere in the rich countries is aid to underdeveloped countries today dealt with as a major social and economic issue, or in terms other than, on the one hand, relatively small-scale charity and, on the other hand, national interest, either political or commercial. Politicians, in particular, have to watch the attitudes of the electorate, and they are conspicuously abandoning the Sunday religion when it comes down to practical political actions.

Most people live in a narrow world and are crudely egoistic for themselves and for those with whom they identify. Among the fairly well off, even the needs of the poor in their own lands are a strain on loyalty; they feel even more indifferent to the fate of the distant poor. They are aware, moreover, of the harsh and, as a rule, increasing economic inequality within most of the underdeveloped countries and feel that the spokesmen for the poor countries, who for the most part belong to the privileged strata, should attempt some equalization at home before appealing for



Rius, Siempre (Mexico City)

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more international solidarity. There is—particularly in the United States, which has had the most experience in the field of large-scale aid ever since the Marshall Plan—a growing conviction that foreign aid earns little gratitude and sympathy. Often, a sort of historical analogy is applied by recalling how the present rich nations had to struggle for development through sacrifice and hard work without any outside aid. Why should not the underdeveloped nations of today have to follow this same path? It would also do them good morally. This analogy is false, of course, since initial conditions are so vastly different, mostly to the great disadvantage of countries now underdeveloped. But when that is pointed out, people may turn to the other extreme as a reason for lack of concern: aid to underdeveloped countries is a hopeless task, however much one might be prepared to give. These are rationalizations, but their effects are real enough: for the time being, none of the rich nations is prepared to put aid to underdeveloped countries on a par with other, "really important" items on the national budget. There are individuals and groups who would be prepared to do it, but they do not influence any political party or government. Similarly in the field of international trade, even if it were clear to the economist and the perspicacious politician that concessions to the underdeveloped countries would be in a rich nation's long-term interest, vested interests oppose such concessions and they are powerful, particularly when they can appeal to nationalist feelings.

What then can be done to change these attitudes? As a seasoned professor, I cannot be expected to underrate the gradual and ultimate effectiveness of enlightenment. The Freedom from Hunger Campaign has already accomplished a certain amount, if only by getting such a great number of those who write and speak to repeat its main slogans. Aside from education, the rich countries have a number of problems which they should be able to overcome. They should do it in their own interests but it would also make possible a greater generosity in their policies toward underdeveloped countries. As I have already said, the advanced nations should be able to organize the international monetary system among themselves in such a way that there would not in future be need to discourage the flow of funds to underdeveloped countries for foreign exchange considerations. The financial problems of underdeveloped countries are of a totally different nature. These countries are bound to be short of foreign exchange. Wanting to develop while being so short of resources, they must in general control the use of the foreign exchange they can dispose of. It is neither logical nor practical to mix the two types of quite different problems together, as unfortunately has been done in many of the schemes worked out for monetary reform. This is often done for the good purpose of securing more financial funds for the poor countries and is often applauded by their own spokesmen. It is an illusion to believe, however, that more financial aid could be smuggled through by that type of confused scheme; the rich countries will not fall for it.

In the same way, the international trade problem is totally different in the poor and the rich countries, and there are reasons for what I have called a "double standard of morality" in regard to commercial policy—for once a double standard to the advantage of the weak. The rich countries should now take the consequence of their comparative strength—as Britain did more than a hundred years ago when it led the world in development—and open their boundaries to the flow of commodities as well as capital, among themselves and from the poor countries. They could do it, if they kept their economies in balance. During this approach toward free trade, they should abolish tariffs and other restrictions on imports from the poor without expecting reciprocity. The poor countries cannot possibly abstain from protecting their sprouting industries.

At the same time, there is much the underdeveloped countries could do themselves to break down the reluctance of the rich countries to come forward with more assistance. A few months ago George D. Woods, the president of the World Bank, in an address to the bank's governors where he noted that "the level of development assistance has been stationary for several years," said bluntly that "it is useless to attempt to sugar-coat the fact that in many of the underdeveloped countries, economic performance can be greatly improved." After having illustrated what he meant, he went on to stress that "it is the effectiveness of internal effort which to a large extent is going to determine the future of international development assistance."

For my own part, and thinking particularly about the popular resistance in rich countries to substantial sacrifices for the assistance of underdeveloped countries, I would urge increasing social discipline and the rooting out of corruption, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a better compliance with the ideals of social and economic equality to which all underdeveloped countries are solemnly committed. Such internal reforms would also greatly improve the chances to speed up development, particularly in agriculture.

The urgency is considerable. Statistics on trends presented in FAO's *Third World Food Survey* two years ago and the recently published *The State of Food and Agriculture 1965*, together with all we know about the tremendous economic and social inhibitions and obstacles to agricultural reform in the underdeveloped countries, lead to the conclusion that, whatever the prospects for a substantially increased agricultural production in the somewhat longer run, the immediate prospects are gloomy. We must face the fact that, as a prominent American agricultural economist, Prof. Earl L. Butz, expressed it: "The world is on a collision course." He continued:

> When the massive force of an exploding world population meets the much more stable trend line of world food production, something must give. Unless we give increased attention now to the softening of the impending collision, many parts of the world within a decade will be skirting a disaster of such a proportion as to threaten the peace and stability of the Western world.

The threatening world food crisis would already have broken out in several very big countries like India and Pakistan and in many smaller ones had it not been for large-scale food imports without exchange compensation, mainly under P.L. 480, from the surpluses in the U.S. If the lid of production restrictions were lifted, food production could rise very steeply in the United States; Canada, Aus-

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tralia and a few other countries are in a similar situation. But we should not expect these countries to carry the financial burden alone. It was easy to vote billions for P.L. 480 in Congress, when the United States was ridding its market of awkward food surpluses; it will be different when the surpluses have disappeared and agricultural policy becomes directed toward an increase of production instead of a limit on production. Other rich countries will have to share the financial burden, but they will do so only if this food aid is internationalized; they will not pay contributions into the United States Treasury for a United States activity. Therefore, it is fortunate that an international agency, The World Food Program, working under FAO auspices, is already in operation on an experimental scale, and that according to unanimous opinion it has been run economically and effectively.

But internationally organized food aid cannot possibly be a permanent solution; it is merely an emergency bridge. As

The British Weekly

Lester R. Brown, a staff economist in the U.S. Department of Agriculture, has recently pointed out, the increase in grain consumption by 1980, estimated on the basis of the expected population increase and a modest rise of 10 per cent in per capita consumption, would boost grain production requirements by almost as much as the current output of North America and Western Europe combined. A similarly forbidding calculation could be made of the shipping facilities needed for an extensive food aid program. The inescapable lesson of that glimpse into the future is that, even if for a short time the first shocks of the food crisis can be met by aid from the rich countries, the very great increase in agricultural production that is urgently needed to avert disaster must begin to take place in the vast underdeveloped regions themselves.

How this is to be accomplished is the main business of the agricultural ministries in underdeveloped countries, and of the FAO. Even if reforms can have their full effects only in the somewhat longer run, it is urgent that they be undertaken without delay and that they be so planned that they will show maximum results as quickly as possible. As a matter of fact, I am much less concerned about how things will look at the turn of the century. In the long run, much will happen: we shall perhaps have entirely new techniques to produce the foods; the world situation will be different. Long-term forecasts are bound to be proved wrong. It is the years of this decade and the next about which I am worried. Our short-run forecasts are more reliable, and they point to danger of world calamity.

About the policy measures to be undertaken I shall restrict myself to a few brief observations. First, contrary to experience in developed countries, what increase of food production has been achieved in the underdeveloped countries has mainly come about from an extension of the cultivated area: the yields per acre have hardly risen at all. This is true even in India, which has a very high man/land ratio and very low yields. Virgin cultivable land is becoming scarce or else the costs of cultivating it are forbiddingly high. But since yields are generally very low, there is reason to hope that improvements in agricultural technology will raise them substantially.

Second, while much technology is available, much more still needs to be invented. There are two reasons for this. For one thing, most of the underdeveloped countries are in the tropical and subtropical zones and there has been very little specialized and localized practical research in those regions. Moreover—and this is too often overlooked even by agricultural experts—while from the beginning agricultural technology in the now-developed countries advanced in a context of decreasing farm labor, most underdeveloped countries will have to adjust their technology to an agricultural labor force that for a generation will rise in numbers about as fast as the present very rapid population increase. This point deserves a few words of explanation.

Fortunately, the road seems now to be opening for a much more determined policy of spreading birth control among the masses. But we would deceive ourselves if we counted on a rapid decrease in fertility. Also, the relatively greater numbers of children, which is a reflection of the rising fertility up to now, means that the population increase has a tremendous momentum. This does not say that a decrease in fertility would not always and immediately improve income and living levels per head, but it does imply that the birth curve will not be lowered as fast as if the age distribution were that of a stable population. Finally, the effects on the labor force are delayed for at least fifteen years and will be very inconsequential for a whole generation. The future workers are already born or will soon be born.

With this comes the fact that industrialization in most of the underdeveloped countries, even if it proceeded much faster than it has thus far, will not for decades absorb much additional labor. Under certain circumstances industrialization will even displace more labor from traditional industry and craft than it employs under the new conditions. This is no reason for not trying to industrialize as fast as possible: when once a higher level of industrialization is reached, industry will increasingly employ more labor. Meanwhile, however, a swelling flow of refugees from the countryside to the cities will not be productive.

All this comes down to the fact that agricultural technology must try to increase yields per acre by putting to more effective work a labor force which is already severely

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underemployed and which will rapidly increase for decades. This new, labor-intensive technology has yet to be developed.

My third observation is that a substantial and rapid increase in agriculture yields has rarely, if ever, occurred in traditional self-sufficiency farming, where illiteracy is prevalent and the relation between the farmer and his land is such that he has little possibility and little incentive to exert himself. Among the several institutional problems raised by this point, I would give high priority to the need for land reform in the broadest sense of the word. Its details would differ from country to country with different systems of ownership and tenancy and it must be accompanied by other induced changes in regard to education, marketing, availability of credits, etc. It will often be costly if it is to raise yield substantially, and we should begin to consider whether international credits, which would have to be on a rather large scale, could not be extended to underdeveloped countries that undertake land reforms and all the other measures necessary to render such reforms really productive. But that assumes that these countries, or rather the political leaders in these countries, will begin to take seriously the urgent need for reorganizing the relations between the toiler and the land he tills. It is tragic—and a contributory cause of no small importance to the grave situation we face today—that local vested interests have made a sham of land reform in so many countries. FAO has for many years labored courageously and competently for land reform, and in recent years it has produced a resolve in some countries to solve the problem; but other countries still try to forget about it and focus public attention only on the more technical problems.

We all of us stand in danger of becoming accustomed to living on happily and attending to the business of the day, while not giving much thought to the possibility or probability of the unthinkable ahead of us. We seem to take this pattern from the entirely rational way in which we as individuals live on from day to day, working and enjoying ourselves, though we know we are soon approaching the personal catastrophe of death. Otherwise life would be unbearable; nothing can be done about it, and our nations and mankind do not perish with us. But this attitude is dangerously irrational when we take it as members of a nation and of mankind. Social catastrophes are different from the certainty of death for the individual; they can and should be averted. And if we do not use foresight and take measures against them, we shall all perish and there will be no posterity.

LIFE INSURANCE

THE MONOLITHIC SECT

JAMES GOLLIN

Mr. Gollin sold life insurance for more than eight years and is still active in the insurance industry.

In our society, life insurance is as ubiquitous as death itself. Indeed, last year the 21 million insurance contracts sold outnumbered deaths by nearly 10 to 1. It's obvious from these figures that a basic American dream—that of outwitting death—is far from losing its grip on the American psyche. Another way to measure the power of this dream is simply to note that by the end of 1966 we were insuring our lives for more than *$1 trillion*: one and a quarter times our total national income.

Although 130 million Americans own life insurance, and though insurance men and their ways have long been part of the folklore, most of us know little about our insurance and nothing at all about the industry that supplies it. So palpable is this ignorance that when the publisher of a national newsweekly was asked to address a life insurance advertisers' convention last fall, the first thing he did was scribble a puzzled memo to his aides: "Why is there not more public communication about life insurance?"

Why not, indeed? After all, life insurance is an intriguing subject. In an obvious sense, an insurance policy is the sum of what our entire civilization has learned about the interrelations of life, death and money. Further, the American life insurance industry, which sends its representatives into almost every cranny of society, is itself a kind of natural wonder: the biggest, richest (controlling assets of more than $160 billion), and in some ways the strangest of all our private enterprises.

Most Americans hear only about "the miracle" of life insurance. They listen to what their agents say about this ingenious legal and social contract that magically "creates an estate" for the family whose breadwinner would otherwise die penniless. They are sobered and impressed to learn that in 1965, life insurance companies paid out nearly $5 billion in death benefits; and because the need for life insurance is self-evident, they are eager to believe what they're told.

But the process of selling life insurance taught me that most people really didn't want to know much more than that about what they were buying. And eight and a half years in this business has taught me something else: in an era when other industries have begun to learn that it pays to deal openly with the public, the life insurance industry still thinks it needs to conduct its business behind tightly closed doors.

In short, I came to understand that because Americans share some strange ideas and some curious uncertainties about life, death and money, our society has nurtured a vast institution that we like to believe can prolong life, abolish death, and even make us rich. All we have to do in return is pay money and not be too inquisitive. So today Americans buy $100 billion worth of new life insurance every year, pay $40 billion in annual premiums—and do so without any real awareness of the implications of their behavior.

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The inner workings of my own industry had come to fascinate me, and this particular perspective on life insurance proved so irresistible that after two and a half years of research and thirteen months of writing, I published earlier this year a book about life insurance in America. (*Pay Now, Die Later,* Random House.) As the next pages will make clear, the life insurance industry's official reaction to this publication is a continuing final chapter to the book itself.

As soon as the publication contract had been signed, I called the senior public relations executives of the insurance company whose policies I had been selling for several years. After outlining my project to these men, I warned them bluntly that I intended a profile of the industry, "warts and all." To their personal credit, these executives (like officials in dozens of other major life insurance companies) offered their help. For their subsequent cooperation, I was, and I still am, extremely grateful. So too am I grateful for the aid given me by The Institute of Life Insurance. After a brief meeting, the officers of this leading trade association made available its excellent library and research facilities.

I cite these facts to make two points: my book was written with the knowledge of high life insurance officialdom; and it was written from inside. The only restriction was that I not present my findings as the reflection of any official viewpoint. (Voluntarily, I made it a rule to protect the anonymity of my informants.)

A single event was enough to change the atmosphere. In his column of January 26—seven months before the book was published—Walter Winchell said: "*Pay Now, Die Later* by James M. Gollins [*sic*] will make life-insurance people turn white." My journalistic honeymoon with the life insurance industry was over.

Five days later, two of the executives I had already spoken with dropped in unannounced on Random House, to see if my editor would mind giving them a look at my manuscript. When he refused, they left, after threatening to see to it that the book "was kept out of the hands of as many life insurance agents as possible."

Not quite a month later, the industry's trade press began to speak. In *The National Underwriter* (February 26), Henry W. DuBois, an agent for the Northwestern Mutual Life and president of the Dallas, Tex., Life Underwriters Association, noted Walter Winchell's mention of *Pay Now, Die Later* and went on:

> First of all, we can't legitimately bring any pressure to bear on the publisher, and I doubt that we would want to even if we could. . . .

Mr. DuBois couldn't have known—or could he?—that an effort to "bring pressure to bear" had already failed. He went on:

> We can look with pity on anyone so uninformed or so downright stupid as to write such a book. . . . There is no way that a man who believes in God can prove anything to the satisfaction of an atheist, or that a patriot can justify himself to a coward, so why be drawn into an argument?

In other words, ignore the book.

Next, the April issue of the *Life Association News* carried a letter written by John M. Hazlitt of South Bend, who was also worried about the possible effect of my book. Although he led off, "I have not seen the book and have no idea of its contents," Mr. Hazlitt characterized *Pay Now, Die Later* as "a smear . . . written and published to make money for someone." Hazlitt's message, delivered at some length, was that insurance men should punish the greedy author and publisher by not buying the book.

I followed these comments with keen interest: If you're an author, there's a special flavor to seeing the reviews before the manuscript has even left your hands. Furthermore, Messrs. DuBois and Hazlitt were giving me a valuable foretaste of what lay in store.

On September 16, *Pay Now, Die Later* was officially released; and what I had to say about the American life insurance industry became, naturally and properly, fair game for the press, the public and the industry. As I had hoped, several of the issues I raise in the book have attracted attention.

For instance, in my examination of the agency system by which life insurance is distributed, I made a statistical point. According to my evidence, the life insurance industry's 1,700 companies recruit approximately 110,000 men and women as salesmen every year. Of these, about 90,000—nearly 90 per cent—leave the business within ninety days of being hired. And by the end of each full year, another 5,000 to 10,000 have dropped out.

"True," I added in the book, "these aren't the figures that circulate within the industry. According to official sources, the 'turnover ratio' among salesmen is much lower. Some of these sources estimate the ninety-day turnover rate as 65 per cent, and *The New York Times* . . . cited surveys that give this rate as 50 per cent. . . . But whatever the exact percentages are, it's absurd to quibble about the statistics of disaster."

The point, of course, is that such commercial manslaughter costs everybody dearly: the failed agents, the companies, and the policy-buying public.

The first member of the industry to deal publicly with my statistics was Bernard Bergin, an insurance agent who manages a sales agency for the Madison Life Insurance Company of New York. He and I were guests together on Barry Gray's New York radio show of September 15. Mr. Bergin said that in his agency the turnover of salesmen was "only about 10 per cent." Then he observed that new life insurance agents were "90 per cent subsidized": that is, paid advances against future commissions. He added that it cost "I believe somewhere in the neighborhood of $10,000 to train a new man." His argument seemed to be that since life insurance companies spend a lot of money to attract new sales help, they don't want to encourage failure.

In response, I cited statistics gathered by the Life Insurance Agency Management Association (an industry fact-finding organization whose name will recur in the next several episodes). They were reported as follows in *The Wall Street Journal* of August 15:

> High turnover plagues life insurance companies. Of 22,700 new full-time agents hired in the U.S. and Canada last year, 15,000 had quit by year end, the Life Insurance Agency Management Association reports. One reason: inadequate training. New agents got an average of less than

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three hours a week instruction during the first six months of employment.

Even though these turnover figures were much less critical than my own, Mr. Bergin rejected them. "I don't think the statistics are true. I don't believe it is so." Then he said, "I admit that there's a large attrition. There must be."

I agreed with Mr. Bergin. The industry's attrition is very large.

In the October 15 issue of *Sales Management Magazine*, an article discussing *Pay Now, Die Later* ("a bristling . . . sometimes-overstated indictment of the entire U.S. life insurance business") again cited the Life Insurance Agency Management Association. "Massive turnover in the life insurance sales force continues apace (60% of all salesmen quit or are dismissed in any given year, according to the Life Insurance Agency Management Association)."

In this same article, Raymond Dry of the LIAMA was given a chance to comment. The magazine quotes him as saying, "some managers do operate as Gollin suggests . . . [but] such practices are no help to the company." I had never said they were, and Mr. Dry neither affirmed nor denied his own organization's statistics. As for mine, by this time they had been lost in the shuffle.

Sales Management's editors sent a copy of this issue to Blake T. Newton, president of The Institute of Life Insurance (in whose library I had spent seven months doing research). In answer to the magazine's request for comment, Mr. Newton wrote: "If you had checked with us . . . you could have avoided the substantial error of reporting that 60 per cent of life insurance salesmen are dismissed or quit in any given year." Mr. Newton then gave some statistics of his own. He first stated that "departures from the sales force . . . *from all causes* involve only about one-fifth of our agent group." He went on: "The fact is that there are about 200,000 life insurance agents in this country. . . . In addition . . . the industry hires about 40,000 new inexperienced recruits each year."

Mr. Newton's letter also contained the statement that the editors of *Sales Management* had "accepted at face value the sometimes misinformed, sometimes deceptive arithmetic of one of our ex-agents who was unsatisfied with his career in our business and blew up to book size his bitterness about his failure as a salesman." In fact I was a success as a salesman, and although I no longer sell life insurance, I am still active in the industry.

The salesman-turnover question took on its strangest tinge during a radio debate I had with Milton Goldberg, assistant vice president and actuary of The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States. I quote from the transcript, with deletions only for brevity:

GOLLIN: Could you tell us the Equitable's agent turnover last year?

GOLDBERG: Well, you'll be surprised to learn this, Mr. Gollin. I didn't come prepared to give a lot of figures to the public and burden them. . . .

GOLLIN: Why not?

GOLDBERG: I'll tell you why not. We place no credence in these so-called turnover figures. We don't even like to use the word "turnover."

GOLLIN: You don't like the Life Insurance Agency Management Association's . . . you don't believe in their statistics, is that correct?

GOLDBERG: Right. I think that is the greatest institutional organization in agency management supported by the life insurance companies. I've been identified with them for many years, I served on a number of committees—committees which you say have not accomplished anything—

GOLLIN: As a matter of fact, I do know about your [LIAMA] studies and, in further point of fact, let me repeat my question: although you've been very active in LIAMA affairs, Mr. Goldberg, you still don't place much credence in their turnover statistics, is that correct?

GOLDBERG: I will tell you exactly what I've told them. With all respect to them—and I have every respect for them—the figures they put out, averages for the industry and so forth, can be very misleading.

GOLLIN: Oh, I see.

GOLDBERG: Yes . . . [Mr. Goldberg went on to say that once an agent becomes "experienced," he generally stays in the industry.]

GOLLIN: The biggest problem the industry has in selecting and training and recruiting agents is in the selection, recruitment and training of new agents?

GOLDBERG: You and I agree on that.

GOLLIN: Right. Then let me ask you this: how many agents did your managers hire during 1965?

GOLDBERG: Er, roughly—now I didn't bring figures with me—

GOLLIN: No, I understand—

GOLDBERG: —but I can produce anything you want—about 1,800.

GOLLIN: How many of them survived a full year?

GOLDBERG: All right, I'm going to answer that by saying we don't even keep track, from the standpoint of pertinence.

GOLLIN: You don't know how many of your first-year agents are left?

GOLDBERG: Oh, I can give you the figure but it doesn't mean anything to us—

GOLLIN: You don't care.

GOLDBERG: —We're interested in how many men we take on who stay with us one year, two years, three years and make a decent living.

GOLLIN: So that you're not concerned about the drop-outs.

GOLDBERG: No—no, not *per se*.

Mr. Goldberg then explained that the Equitable's "Manpower Development" program would "reduce what you call these exorbitant turnover rates." Later, I asked Mr. Goldberg about my own statistics.

GOLLIN: The figures as they stand now are correct, is that not right?

GOLDBERG: I'm not going to justify those figures, but I will say this: those overall averages don't mean a thing to me.

Thus, my effort to have at least one industry spokesman be precise about the career expectancy of the neophyte insurance agent was unavailing. But I felt that the audience might have heard enough to make it wonder about some of the industry's behavior patterns. For instance: the life insurance companies maintain a research branch, LIAMA, expressly to gather and study the statistics of such problems as agent failure, but they then publicly repudiate the statistics as "misleading" and even meaningless. And again: the big problem in life insurance, "manpower development," is that of attracting and training brand new agents. But the companies that claim to be the most progressive about developing manpower don't really care at

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all about the new recruits they attract, only about the few who survive to become "experienced."

And while it appears that the industry, its Institute, and its official research arm are somewhat at odds about their most critical problem, no one has yet come forward either to refute my statistics or to challenge my contention that "failure . . . overtakes the huge majority of those who enter the life insurance business."

Another set of issues I raise in *Pay Now, Die Later* centers on the financial operations of life insurance companies. In a chapter on the industry's investment making, I noted that "many close students of life-insurance-industry economics feel that most companies are far, far richer than they need to be." Citing a study by James E. Walter (*The Investment Process as Characterized by Certain Leading Life Insurance Companies*), I concluded that:

> (*1*) Company reserves are worth *at least* 10 to 15 per cent *more* than even the most stringent state laws require; (*2*) surplus funds (those kept on hand in addition to legal reserves) are in turn worth an additional 10 to 15 per cent of the reserves themselves (substantially in excess of requirements); and (*3*) investment income, year by year, is running *at least 30 per cent higher* than is necessary to maintain company financial coffers at their present overfull levels. . . . This same cushion, moreover, is built into . . . the premium rate structure to make sure that the future picture will remain unaltered. . . . Taking the industry's total assets as in excess of $150,000,000,000, our life insurance companies have evidently accumulated a treasure of $45,000,000,000 that will *never* be needed to pay claims and will *never* be returned to us or our beneficiaries.

Alden S. Wood, Director of Communications of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company, headlined his review of my book in *The Boston Traveler* (September 21): "'Exposé' of Insurance Not Based on the Facts." Among other things, Mr. Wood reported a number of "irritating inaccuracies." He mentioned only one:

> On page 125, the author discusses a conclusion reached by . . . "a Harvard School [probably the newspaper's own ellipsis] professor, James E. Walter." The Business School told us that Walter was an associate professor and that he left Harvard four years ago. Why can't Gollin get such important facts correct?

In 1962, when the Harvard Business School published his book, James E. Walter was associate professor of finance at the Business School. My information about Professor Walter was taken from the dust jacket of the book, which I read in May, 1965. I have since learned that Professor Walter has joined the faculty of the Wharton School of Finance at the University of Pennsylvania. In his review, Mr. Wood does not mention my reason for citing Walter's book, although I am sure he would agree that the facts—and the complex ramifications, political, economic and social—of the life insurance industry's financial operations are also of some importance.

Mr. Wood also took strong exception to another point I raised. I wrote, in Chapter 1, "the industry openly argues that as long as it functions effectively, it owes the public no explanations." Calling this statement an "astonishing allegation," Mr. Wood countered by saying that "the life insurance business is subject to the closest legal regulation."

To begin with, there's an enormous difference between the "explanation" I feel this industry owes the public and the formal exhibits each insurance company must prepare for the technicians and lawyers who staff the insurance departments of the fifty states. Indeed, the so-called "Convention blank," the financial report form that companies submit yearly to state insurance authorities, has long baffled even expert financial analysts from outside the industry. To the general public, such documents might as well be written in Sanskrit.

But the real issue lies much deeper: How effective is present-day state regulation of life insurance? As Mr. Wood undoubtedly realizes, this question can have more than just one answer.

The answer of Mr. Wood himself and of his counterparts throughout the industry would be that because life insurance is subject to "the closest legal regulation," the public is completely safeguarded. My answer, which Mr. Wood never mentioned, can be summed up by two comments from my book. First: "life insurance companies are so powerful that they help write the laws under which they're regulated." Second: "the prime concern [of both

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the industry and of the state regulatory bodies] is that companies be unassailably solvent."

This jointly held piece of orthodoxy was succinctly expressed in a speech that Henry Root Stern, Jr., Superintendent of Insurance of New York, gave in September at the Continental Assurance Company's Chicago conference on "Trends in Life Insurance Regulation and Taxation." As reported in the trade paper *Best's Insurance News*, Mr. Stern "emphasized . . . that, insofar as New York State is concerned, 'no domestic life company has come to grief, with financial loss to policyholders. . . . [My Department] intends that this exemplary record shall continue.'"

No responsible person ever wants a life insurance company to come to grief. But in an industry whose assets exceed $160 billion, some authorities feel that matters other than solvency are the critical regulatory problems today. For example, Dean E. Sharp, assistant counsel of the United States Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, also delivered a speech at that conference in Chicago. It went unmentioned by *Best's Insurance News*.

Mr. Sharp expressed the subcommittee's alarm about certain industry practices. He mentioned, for instance, endowment insurance policies sold as "savings plans documented by passbooks . . . [in] well-planned sales promotion efforts having the complete sanction of the companies involved." He cited the case of the "millions of borrowers . . . overcharged some $700 million [for credit life and health insurance coverage] since 1959." Mr. Sharp then asked:

> How can [state] regulation be expected to meet present and future challenges when:
>
> ¶ So many states have inadequately staffed departments who fail to look behind formal statements and reports and to make adequate, intelligent and frequent examinations?
>
> ¶ So many state departments inadequately and ineffectively handle complaints by policyholders and those in the business?
>
> ¶ So many states so jealously guard their own prerogatives . . . that effective coordination between and among states is . . . impossible?
>
> ¶ So many obviously conflicting and divergent regulatory philosophies, laws, interpretations, and enforcement practices hopelessly hinder the present structure's effectiveness?

This, then, is still another answer to the question of how well the public is protected by the existing network of state life insurance regulations. Mr. Sharp's speech is entitled, "It's Too Late To Defend The Status Quo." And yet, as my book makes clear, I feel that the men who run life insurance will defend the *status quo*—at our expense—for a very long time to come.

Thus we come to a final point: communication. The inability of this immense industry to understand communication is in a way the special theme of this article, as indeed it is a major theme of my book. Milton Goldberg's agile elusiveness, Blake T. Newton's imputation of motives, Alden S. Wood's lack of focus are not only attempts to sidestep the real issues but symptoms of an underlying malady: a stubborn refusal to speak clearly—and listen carefully—to the industry's vast public audience.

Whether this refusal is due to arrogance or indifference I am not certain, but it seems to me that the "communications block" is an industry problem even more serious than that of the agency system. And yet this industry could change dramatically if its chieftains ever discovered that —like advertising and publishing—life insurance is *by definition* a business of communication. Indeed, the insurance policy itself is not a tangible item but a message.

Unfortunately, I see little sign that such sensitivity to the real nature of insurance is growing within the industry's executive ranks. In support, I could cite countless examples, from life insurance advertising to the hundreds of thousands of letters that the industry sends its luckless customers every day. But perhaps the most revealing example I have yet seen is the following review of my book. It is by Chester C. Nash, editor of *Insurance News*, and it appeared in the issue of October 15:

> *Pay Now, Die Later* . . . is a senseless tirade that should be of no interest to anyone within the business and a total, confusing bore to any casual lay reader.
>
> This review was delayed because the publisher twice refused to give a revue [*sic*] copy, but the book was secured and has been read—with great effort.
>
> The best summary is from the author's own words towards the end, "Nothing in this indictment of the industry is new." An understatement. . . .
>
> The book is particularly boring from a public standpoint because the first 202 pages are devoted to an analysis of the mechanics of the business—agent selection, training, management, company direction, investment operation, underwriting practice, etc.—all from the point of view of a totally disillusioned insurance man. Companies are pictured as robber barons, managers as crude opportunists, agents as dumb misfits, underwriting as a process of discrimination, investments as crude gambles made by sharpies.
>
> Fortunately for the business . . . the author so fills his pages with venom and hate and massive overstatement that the picture is unbelievable to even the lay reader. The only conclusion apparent is that Mr. Gollin, while he was an agent, must have suffered greatly. . . . It is only to be hoped that the book is not too autobiographical, especially when he comes to his list of "Eight ways agents can cheat you." But truly, he must have lived in a miserable dream world those years he was selling, judging by his total lack of understanding of the world he moved in.

Clearly, this is not a book review. Nor, for all his energetic effort, is Mr. Nash merely trying to discredit a book by the common stratagem of discrediting its author. Rather, he is performing an act of exorcism. For his select audience, he's uttering an incantation that is to make me and my dangerous ideas disappear. It's an interesting phenomenon to discover in the trade press of a vast American industry.

Like all the other verbal rituals of life insurance (those canned sales pitches about the magic of insurance, for example), this one tells the listener something that the charts and statistics can't possibly reveal. Mr. Nash is actually saying that the life insurance industry is not only a commercial monolith but also a sect. To the buyer of life insurance, it may not mean much that every policy sold perpetuates the sect's power and prestige. But to the citizen, it should be disquieting that this particular sect tolerates no discussion of its tribal practices and its lore; and permits no communication except the drumming of the true believers.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Salame Is Salami Is Salamis

THE RANDOM HOUSE DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE (The Unabridged Edition.) *Illustrated. Random House. 2,059 pp. $25.*

MARIO PEI

Mr. Pei is a linguist, teacher and author of numerous books on language.

It can never be sufficiently stressed that one does not and cannot review a dictionary, particularly one of this size and heft, with the same criteria and methods used in reviewing other books. With works like Oxford, Webster III and Random House, the proof of the pudding lies in the eating. It is only after months and years of use and consultation that one can pass final judgment. You find or do not find the words you are seeking. The definitions are or are not clear. The etymologies are or are not satisfactory. But all this takes time and use. All one can do at first glance is to cover broad, general areas, usually in the field of one's special interests and inclinations, and voice an opinion that is necessarily tentative and subject to revision.

Judged by these standards, the Random House offering is good, particularly for the price. It could have been better. It is an impressive work, with over 260,000 entries (as against about 450,000 for its higher-priced competitor, Webster III). It includes a great deal of material that is, strictly speaking, extraneous to a dictionary, though suitable for an encyclopedia or atlas. It omits, or rearranges in a less satisfactory way, such items as biographical data, literary works and given names, which older dictionaries (Webster II, for instance; or Webster Collegiate) used to present in separate sections, where they served a useful purpose because they could be studied together and compared.

Random House's type is clear and legible; it never strains your eyes. Its definitions are, on the whole, understandable. Its etymologies, though perhaps too brief to suit a language specialist, are generally correct. Its system of transcription to indicate pronunciation is far more accessible to the layman than is that of Webster III. Its linguistic philosophy will prove far more acceptable to all those who questioned Webster III's doctrine of usage. Random House does not hesitate to make what the descriptive linguists scornfully qualify as "value judgments"; it plainly tells you that a word is slang, substandard, vulgar, colloquial, avoided by the best writers and speakers. Random House displays far more "residual prudishness" than does Webster III; it omits far more four-letter words. It is almost as though the editors had been as much preoccupied with "good taste" as those of Webster III were with "usage."

Random House's list of consultants and consulting editors is impressive. They have done their work well. Not so well, however, as to make the offering "completely up-to-date," as claimed by the publicity, or to avoid such minor inaccuracies as the twice mentioned Spanish *bomba de fuega* (for *bomba de fuego*), in the Introduction and under *bomb*. It is easy to see how a work of more limited scope would omit *del credere,* which Webster III offers, or *poorthink,* which might be labeled a quasi-nonce-word. *Credibility gap* was not in use when Webster III appeared; it may not even have been in use when Random House was given its final touches. But there is hardly any excuse for the omission of *Cosa Nostra,* which has been with us since Valachi gave his testimony before a Congressional committee several years ago.

When I reviewed Webster III at the time of its appearance, I criticized the omission of *don* in the sense of "a don of the Mafia," and an Italian-American supernationalist criticized me in turn for bringing it up, because, according to him, the Mafia was just a figment of the imagination of American newspaper writers. I should have been happy to agree with him, but the Valachi testimony, and the Appalachin meeting shortly thereafter, unfortunately proved that I was right and he was wrong. Random House handles the issue with consummate diplomacy; one of its definitions for *don* is "a person of great importance," with which neither I nor my critic can take issue.

This diplomatic sense appears in other connections. *Spaghetti,* for instance, is given no plural form, but its Italian plural status is precisely described. *Ravioli* is stated to be in English either singular or plural, but again with a precise Italian derivation. Even *salami* is stated to come from an Italian singular *salame* whose plural is *salami,* more than one stick of the substance. By way of contrast, Webster III declares *spaghetti* and *salami* to be English singulars, with plural in *-s,* but shows inconsistency in stating *ravioli* to be an English plural, regardless of the fact that the same people who say *spaghettis* also say *raviolis.*

There is occasional compromise with usage. *Rout,* for example, is given the

UNDER CYGNUS

Who says I shall not straighten till I bend,
And must be broken if I hope to mend?
Did Samson gain by being chained and blind?
Dark heaven hints at something of the kind,
Seeing that as we beat toward Hercules
Our flank is compassed by the galaxy's,
And we drawn off from our intended course
By a grand reel of stars whose banded force,
Catching us up, makes light of all our loss,
And dances us into the Northern Cross.

Well, if I must surrender and be gay
In the wrong pasture of the Milky Way,
If in the Cross I must resign my Sword
To hang among the trophies of the Lord,
Let my distinction not consist alone
In having let myself be overthrown.
It was my loves and labors, carried high,
Which drove the flight that heaven turns awry,
My dreams which told the stars what they should tell.
Let the Swan, dying, sing of that as well.

RICHARD WILBUR

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single pronunciation (rout), but *route* is given (root, rout), with the traditional pronunciation first, the confusing one second. *Double-dome,* labeled "slang," is defined as "egghead"; the latter, in turn, is labeled "informal" and equated with *intellectual.* I miss my own creations *intellectuous* and *intellectuosity* (for fake and pompous varieties of intellect), which I believe would serve the purpose of a useful distinction; but give them time. In most disputed cases, however, Random House minces no words and makes few concessions to substandard and confusing usages. Its discussion of *disinterested* and *uninterested,* at loggerheads with Webster III's permissiveness, deserves framing. *Bimonthly* for *semi-monthly* bears the clear label "loosely," which is possibly not strong enough. The discussions of *ain't,* and of *like* (for *as*) will meet with as much favor from traditionalists as their counterparts in Webster III met with criticism.

It is natural for a younger girl to be more attractive than an older woman, all other things being equal. In like manner, a younger dictionary has a natural advantage over its older counterpart. Random House tells you about *escalating* a war, where all that Webster III could tell you was escalating prices to compensate for certain factors, or escalating goods by lifting them in a mechanical conveyor. Under *garbage,* you will look in vain in Webster III for the specialized meanings the term has in spacecraft and in computer science. Even Random House hasn't gotten around to the latter (bits of information disgorged by the computer, but not in line with the purpose for which it is being operated); but it does have the former.

Because I have a special interest in foreign words and expressions, and the criteria by which such words are finally deemed to have become naturalized and no longer printed in italics, I tried to figure out the system used by the compilers of Random House. (In this connection, Webster III simply ignores the problem and treats every word alike, no matter how outlandish, again attesting to the equalitarian tendencies of its compilers.) Sadly, I have to report failure. Random House duplicates Webster III in using no italics for such expressions as *ma foi, ba'al shem, queue fourché* (is the incorrect agreement, from the French standpoint, proof of English naturalization?), *quetzal, trompe l'oeil, rigatoni, seguidilla, force majeure, Rosh Hashanah,* and even *Rosh Hodesh.* But then we fall into a series of inconsistencies. Why *Luftwaffe* but Wehrmacht? Why Yom Kippur but *Yom Tov*? Why *carabinieri* but bersaglieri? Why *double entente* but double entendre? *Garçon* and *Kamerad* are in italics, but garbanzo and kamikaze are not. And *Sehnsucht* is overlooked by both dictionaries, despite "Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt," which most singers prefer to "None but the lonely heart," and which is listed in all available dictionaries of foreign terms and expressions. Webster III, by the way, omits *Luftwaffe,* though it has *Wehrmacht,* but I notice this only now, illustrating what I said in my opening paragraph.

The last 400 pages of the Random House are devoted to things that do not, strictly speaking, pertain to a dictionary. There are lists of colleges and universities, both here and abroad. There are rather comprehensive and well-done two-way vocabularies of French, Spanish, Italian and German. There are major dates in world history, and there is a colored world atlas that gives, among other things, all the national flags (quite a boon in these days when the number of independent nations, and their banners in the UN Plaza, seem to multiply without end). And this is followed by a gazetteer that enables you to spot cities on the maps of the atlas. This is all to the good, but I still miss the old biographical sketches (now scattered in the text) and, above all, the derivations of personal and geographical names that appeared in the older works.

When dictionary compilers go too deeply into specialized fields, they run the risk of boners. The inside cover of the Random House presents a table of Indo-European languages which is, in the main, accurate. One could take issue with the placing of Latin between Oscan and Umbrian, or of High German between Anglo-Frisian and Low German-Dutch, as well as with the apparent derivation of Pashto from Avestan. The spelling *Letish* is obviously a misprint. The boner consists in reversing the position of the Goidelic and Brythonic languages under the Celtic heading, so that Welsh and Breton appear under Goidelic; Irish, Scots Gaelic and Manx under Brythonic; while Cornish, miraculously, appears under the correct Brythonic heading, but in the wrong company. Since *Goidelic* and *Brythonic* are very correctly described in the dictionary itself, it seems a pity that the compilers did not take the precaution of submitting the table to their expert consultants before consigning it to the presses.

Constant reference to this dictionary will doubtless bring to light other failings as time rolls on. But it will also bring to light hidden merits, as was the case with the earlier Webster III. Everything considered, the Random dictionary is an excellent buy and will prove a good and faithful (though not perfect) servant both to the layman and the specialist.

Next week, Mr. Pei will review Modern American Usage *by Wilson Follett.*

Affluence After Anger

RAYMOND WILLIAMS
Mr. Williams is a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. He is the author of Culture and Society, The Long Revolution, *and two novels,* Border Country *and* Second Generation.

The conversion of reality into research material is now so rapid that I suppose I shouldn't really have been surprised when I was asked by a visiting scholar: "Whatever happened to that English cultural generation of the 1950s?" True, it was asked with a suggestion of melancholy and nostalgia, and this impression was deepened by the fact that I was being addressed as one of the relics or survivors. But it was also asked with a desire for an answer, and this has stayed in my mind.

The first and obvious answer, of course, is that most of them are still around. The names that come first to mind—John Osborne, Arnold Wesker, Kingsley Amis, John Braine, John Wain, Richard Hoggart—have in no way disappeared, and their work continues. And yet, I suppose that nobody any longer thinks of them as a generation; or, if they do, it is as a generation of the past. A comparable case is the generation of the thirties, which was described at the time in much the same way. Auden and Spender and Day Lewis are all alive and still writing, but what they have in common exists only in that past, a full generation ago. As writers develop, they separate out as individuals, and the sense of a movement is lost. It should not be surprising that the writers who were new in the fifties have gone through the same process.

Still, looked at another way, the problem is a real one, in cultural history. Many people now see the thirties in England through that surviving sense of a generation: the volunteers in the Spanish war, the Left intellectuals, the direct response in literature to fascism and the depression and the hunger marches. And it is generally believed that all this ended in the Second World War: a generation and its memorable structure of feeling were dispersed. Now people are beginning to see the fifties in much the same way: the new working-class writers, the attacks on the Establishment and the English class system, the questioning of affluence: there, in that period, were the issues and the writers, indissolubly linked. What has hap-

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pened, if not to the writers, then to the issues? What cause of dispersion is the historical equivalent to World War II?

We shall not get an answer by simple parallels. We shall not get agreed answers at all, because the questions lead us into the important contemporary controversies. But I will give my own tentative answers, even though I am aware that for me this reality isn't yet research material with clear guidelines, but still lived and confused. I think that the fifties represented a general cultural shift in ways that the thirties did not. If you listen to some of the men from that older time, now comforting themselves with lecture tours, television programs and memoirs, everybody in England was then much like the movement: that is to say, everybody (except perhaps Neville Chamberlain) was politically on the Left, involved with the hunger marches and the fight against fascism. In fact—the records on this are quite clear—such people were a very small minority. By any test you care to make—the vote for the Labour Party, the membership of the Communist Party, the circulation figures of left-wing writers—the thirties were much less of the Left in England as a whole than any subsequent decade. Both the forties and fifties, to say nothing of the sixties, moved very much more that way. For the thirties, the sense of a left-wing literary movement has to be related, from the beginning, to the fact that literature was very markedly a minority interest. Within this essentially small world, the marked shift of emphasis in writing and opinion took on an importance which later historians, consulting only the more obvious written records, undoubtedly exaggerated. The perpetual and understandable tendency to judge the directions of a society by the color of what seems its *avant-garde* has in that sense been fully worked through.

The fifties, in important respects, were different. The public for literature had grown substantially. But two other factors made a much greater difference. First, there was a real educational expansion: not so much in the population as a whole, where for three-quarters of the children it amounted to little more than one extra year in schools simply renamed secondary schools; but it was critical for one important group, the grammar-school boys—the children of working and lower-middle-class families who could now get through to the universities more easily. Most of the new writers came from these social groups, by sharp contrast with the writers of the thirties who were mainly from upper-class boarding schools, and who were occasionally joined by working men writing short stories and reportage. In the fifties, almost all the new writers were conspicuously mobile, socially, and they were only the visible tip of the emergence of a whole new group who for the most part constituted their supporters and readers. But, second, English society was in the first years of a more general cultural expansion through new media: television and records and paperbacks, especially, were greatly widening the potential audience. These two factors acting together made a difference.

Thus it is clear, as soon as we name them, that they were ambiguous factors. Many people, at the time and since, explained the anger of the new writers as a temporary irritation caused by the difficulties of their mobility. Once they were successful, it was widely and cynically said, they would settle into the Establishment they had attacked. It hasn't happened quite like that, and the few cases I can think of where it has are not especially important. But it is undoubtedly true that as the dust settled it became evident that the targets these writers had in mind, the new experiences they were essentially representing, were in fact various. By the early sixties there was as much complaint against the stupidity of most ordinary people as against the meager and class-ridden educational system which might have caused it. For some, liberation meant radical social and cultural change; for others, it meant new sexual conventions and the imperatives of personal experiment. There was some overlapping, but the tendencies of the sixties—both in new creative work and in criticism—showed major divergences and new hostilities and conflicts within what had been taken, too hastily, as a single new group. The bases of this had been present from the beginning, but it was not only publicity and enthusiasm that overrode them; it was also, for a time, a genuine recognition of a new group, with important experiences and tones in common. As these have become absorbed, by the very fact that the writers were the outriders of a more general change, there is no longer anything very identifiable to use as a pointer to a movement. The men are still there, and writing, but in a society which in important ways has changed in their own directions and overtaken them.

The cultural expansion which was the means of this overtaking is still deeply ambiguous. In a way it is true to say that the beat groups and their young audiences were the successors to the new writers of the fifties. Certainly, by the time they had arrived, there was not much left of the old conservative England which had been known abroad: the careful underdressing, understatement, rigidity, of the old ruling class. Was this then the new Britain, with Wilson's Labour government as its formal recognition? A year or two ago, many would have said so. I doubt if anybody who is really thinking and watching would say it now.

The other way of describing the cultural expansion is all too clearly there. It doesn't sound as nice as a literary or cultural movement, but it is what is happening. The name is capitalism, in the stage at which investment in entertainment and fashionable culture becomes profitable. The new voices, the new sounds, the new social experiences and backgrounds, which had marked the new writing of the fifties and, in a simpler way, some of the new groups, were very rapidly exploited in a new and massive commercial enterprise. And suddenly the movement wasn't writers or groups any more; it was a new commercial lingo—a "commercial" sound, as people started saying of records—and behind it money was racing into position, to take these new audiences and attach them through advertising to a powerful reorganization of the whole society around selling and quick consumption. The *avant-garde*, suddenly, were the pirate stations, the fashion merchants, the Sunday supplements. And the Labour government, among its other changes of course, started to see the future in these empty ways. Some said it was the arrival of Americanism, and in films and television—for financial reasons—this is already literally so. You can perhaps date the change from the moment when the film of Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers*—a book which had stood as a kind of source for the fifties—used a good young American actor to play the English miner's son. The commercial calculation had begun to exert its imperatives.

So what happened to the cultural generation of the fifties? We are mostly still here, mostly successful, and the things we were against are still implacably with us: a class society, a meager educational system, a mock affluence. The sense of a movement and a generation has been dispersed by the simple device of its being turned to profit, in its most superficial terms. Some of us, perhaps more than I think, are still fighting what is happening, still supplying a demand which the system can't satisfy, and knowing that we can't go back, even if any of us wanted to. A democratic culture and a commercial culture have touched, overlapped and become confused. But now suddenly, in these last months, the differences between them, and so the need to choose, have become very apparent. That is why the reality isn't yet quite research material, why we have to stand up again and be counted, through a new crisis. By the spring, perhaps, we shall know who we were, and how many, and what has really happened to a generation.

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A Chicken in Every Wok

HELEN YGLESIAS

The Christmas edition of *The Wonderful World of Cookbooks,* a 63-page catalogue of a staggering number and variety of nothing but cookbooks, would seem to emphasize the fact that there are quite enough cookbooks on the market already. This hasn't interfered in any way with the publication of a new crop. Among the big books designed for gift giving, some of the biggest are cookbooks; of these, some are beautifully produced; some are fascinating to read; some are special in the service they render, and some combine a blend of these qualities.

The Art of Cuisine, Maurice Joyant's collection of Toulouse-Lautrec's recipes and design illustrations for menus, makes its appeal as an art book as well as a cookbook. I don't know that it's greatly successful on these levels, but it is on another: the recipes are splendid reading. Joyant, an art dealer and gallery owner, was a close friend of Lautrec, as well as his executor. Joyant apparently kept a record of the recipes invented by Lautrec, and others they both gathered from skilled cooks; he also collected the sketches Lautrec produced as decorative menus for his dinner parties.

The book makes much of a simple-minded analogy between the art of painting and the art of cooking, and misuses both by an inept superimposition of sketches and recipes. The full-page color illustrations have a tired familiarity, as if we had been viewing them on billboards for months. As a result, the most touching reproduction in the book is by Vuillard: the frontispiece portrait of Lautrec standing before a kitchen stove.

A further irritation is the foolish introduction by M. G. Dortu and Philip Huisman in which Lautrec is made to come on as the character played by José Ferrer. I lost patience when they describe Lautrec sharing with Joyant "a horror of excess," followed immediately by Lautrec's feeble constitution giving way to "excesses of work and pleasure." The introduction also plays on Lautrec's touchstone recipe ("he would say of people he scorned: 'They are not worthy of ring doves with olives' "), but the index fails to list such a recipe. Instead we have "young wild pigeon with olives."

There are many workmanlike recipes in the book; but Lautrec is something of a de Sade of the kitchen and quite as fascinating, witty and sensual. Game particularly arouses his most outrageous appetites. Here he is on *Roast Snipe*:

> Having killed some September snipe, eat them quite fresh when you come back from the shoot. Pluck but do not empty them, push one or two peppercorns into the anus, surround them with a thin slice of bacon and put them on spit in front of a light wood fire. Under the birds to be roasted, lay slices of stale bread. . . . Ten minutes of a brisk fire should be enough to roast the snipe. The flesh should stay bloody . . . cut the snipe quickly into four portions, mash the entrails onto the bread, press the carcasses . . . moisten with a small glass of cognac . . . let the bread slices flare slightly, then arrange the snipe and the heads together with some grilled bacon slices.

And here his advice for tenderizing a chicken:

> . . . take them out of the hen-run; pursue them into open country, and when you have made them run, kill them with a gun loaded with very small shot. The meat of the chicken gripped with fright, will become tender.

The last revived an early childhood memory of a sacrificial ritual practiced by religious immigrant Jewish housewives, called *shlogen kapores.* Between Purim and Passover, two chickens destined for the soup pot (we were a large family), lived in the house for an hour or so before my mother seized them, tied their legs together, whirled them about her head with an appropriate prayer, clearing off the sins of the household, and slaughtered them. The procedure no doubt had a tenderizing effect as well, but neither this nor Lautrec's method is the sort of thing the average cook is apt to put her faith in. Nor will a dessert which combines in a pastry shell sugar, cinnamon, eggs, cream, butter and *beef marrow,* find favor even among ardent beef-marrow fanciers, among whom I count myself. But voyeur cooks (male) should be enchanted with this book.

From The Thousand Recipe Chinese Cookbook

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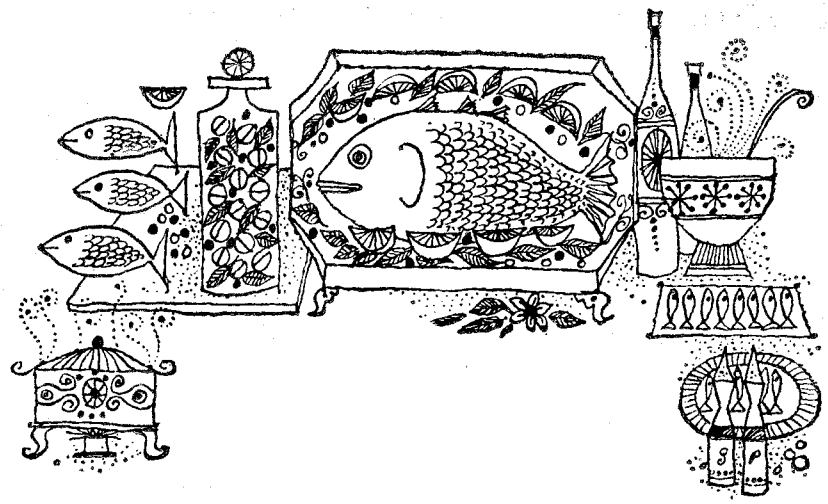
The Lautrec-Joyant approach is a vivid reminder that we are only one level of abundance beyond cannibalism. They make the vegetarian view comprehensible. Lelord Kordel's *Cook Right—Live Longer* is not vegetarian, but it is in the same spirit. It's a book for those whose gratifications are fed in the gesture that sweeps white sugar and white flour off the shelves to make way for blackstrap molasses, sea salt and dry seaweed. The chapter headings give the show away: "Refined Is A Dirty Word," "How To Avoid Nutricide In Your Kitchen," "Yogurt, The Almost Perfect Food." Mr. Kordel issues the usual warnings: don't peel vegetables with a knife, don't overcook, don't overseason. He suggests the usual products: safflower oil, wheat germ, sunflower seed, soybean. But the curse of wholesomeness is nicely taken off the book by a liberal use of garlic and herbs and by the variety of delicious foreign recipes, all simply explained and easy to make. There are no illustrations, but a number of useful lists to guide the novice through this special cuisine. The author even tells you how to grow fresh sprouts from beans, seeds and grains in your kitchen. The sample cake sent out to book editors by the publisher's publicity department was an excellent, light and moist fruit cake with a pervasive fig flavor which proved easy to make at home. Naturally, it's good for your health.

The Classic Cooking of Spain, a modest work of impeccable taste, is a little gem, right down to its price. The great Spanish dishes (*zarzuela, paella, gazpacho, flan, tortilla, cocida*) are here arranged in sections devoted to the regions in which the dishes originated. The photographs convey a sense of the sharp differences of Spain's separate areas, and Jeannette Aguilar has included excerpts from Spanish classic literature by Vives, Cervantes, Pío Baroja, José María Espinas, Lorca, Antonio Machado and others. This presentation makes a charming book effect, but is not perhaps the most efficient way to handle the recipes. Spanish omelettes (no relation to the cafeteria version) would be better described in one place, including all regional *tortilla* variations, instead of appearing as three distinct recipes in different sections of the book. This is also true of the variable local stews (*cocidas*). But the index sorts them out correctly under single headings. I think also that a book for North Americans might make a point of the essential difference between Spanish, and Mexican or Latin American cuisine, which is often jumbled together.

But this is carping about a gentle book that anyone should be delighted to own, if only for the wonderfully simple recipes of *Gambas al ajillo* (shrimps with garlic) and *Sopa de ajo* (garlic soup). The latter, made of water, garlic, bread and eggs, and eaten with a wooden spoon, deserves at least the international reputation of onion soup.



From Modern French Culinary Art

Henri-Paul Pellaprat's *Modern French Culinary Art* tells how to make onion soup more than one way, and in its 1171 pages of over 2,000 recipes and 400 photographs, a great deal more than that. It is all worth knowing, whatever French cuisine teacher is now on your shelf, because it seems to be the clearest and best organized work on this most exacting and elaborate method of cooking. If Pellaprat is not as entertaining as Larousse or as Alice B. Toklas, he offers other virtues. He is simpler than Larousse, Escoffier *or* Alice B. Toklas.

THE ART OF CUISINE. By Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec and Maurice Joyant. Illustrated by Toulouse-Lautrec in color. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 168 pp. $15.

COOK RIGHT—LIVE LONGER. By Lelord Kordel. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 443 pp. $5.95.

THE CLASSIC COOKING OF SPAIN. By Jeannette Aguilar. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. Illustrated. Black-and-white photographs. 160 pp. $4.95.

MODERN FRENCH CULINARY ART. By Henri-Paul Pellaprat. World Publishing Co. Illustrated. 422 photographs, 284 in full color. 18 drawings. 1171 pp. $22.50.

THE THOUSAND RECIPE CHINESE COOKBOOK. By Gloria Bley Miller. Black-and-white illustrations by Earl Thollander. Atheneum Publishers. 926 pp. $20.

Pellaprat, one of France's great chefs and teachers (he taught at Le Cordon Bleu), has been translated for use in American kitchens by Avanelle Day. As true as the blurb says, "novice or seasoned gourmet can reproduce the world's most superb dishes in his or her own kitchen," and what's more, by studying the photographs and reading the detailed directions on serving, he or she can knock the company out with the way the food looks as well as tastes. The larger-than-life color photographs are not my dish; I lost my appetite at the first glimpse of "Turkey Breast Mercure," a cone-shaped mold covered with sliced turkey, dressed with truffles and set in the hollow created by two kneeling horses whose heads and forelegs have been sculpted from 2 pounds of chilled butter. *Modern French Culinary Art* also tells how to make chocolate-covered candies and how to arrange them on a dish. Indeed, it seems to tell everything about *everything*: sauces, hot and cold hors d'oeuvres, soups, fish, meats, poultry, *pâtés*, salads and desserts; and includes a splendid illustration of how to peel and slice an orange with a knife and fork, continental head-waiter fashion, a method which somehow makes it taste like pineapple. It looks easy, but it's harder to do than a *quiche lorraine*.

The Thousand Recipe Chinese Cookbook does for another great cuisine what Pellaprat does for the French. Gloria Bley Miller is an American who understands that she must start from the beginning. She defines the nature of the ingredients, the cooking and serving utensils and the methods of cooking. She manages to do this in an attractively simple manner, and Earl Thollander's suggestive sketches are charming in a way that is entirely missed by the gluttony of full-color illustrations.

Every highly cultivated cuisine has its excesses, and it goes without saying that

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the stranger the custom the more excessive it seems. Chinese *haute cuisine* contains some of the most shocking. (Far Eastern travelers' stories of being served delicacies such as the eye of the cow or being invited to extract nerve tissue from the brains of still living monkeys are legendary, but true.) But at a more normal level, which is where Mrs. Miller stays, both the preparing and eating of Chinese food convey a gratifying illusion that one has approached the question of feeding in a civilized fashion. That is, the best possible flavors have been extracted from the ingredients with a respectful concern for the nature of the ingredient as well as its effect in the whole design. What accounts for this harmonious balance of asceticism and physical well-being is unclear to me (the thought of Mao?). But some of it seems to be mysteriously bound up with the use of fresh products cooked so quickly that their naturalness is undisturbed, as well as with advance kitchen preparation so meticulous that what is served is perfectly sized for eating without the need to cut, tear or otherwise act like a beast at table. At any rate, an aura of virtue surrounds Chinese cuisine, not unlike that connected with vegetarianism or calorie counting—with the difference that all the sensual needs of eating are also met.

Mrs. Miller has provided the essential information for entering this new world. I tried a five-course dinner for nine people, with a handicap of no special equipment and only a few special ingredients (soy sauce, water chestnuts and bamboo shoots, available at any supermarket), and had a clear success. For those who want to go the whole way, *The Thousand Recipe Chinese Cookbook*'s 900 pages and splendid index will tell you all about *woks,* thousand-year eggs, winter melon, stir-frying and all the exotic works. If you have any notion of spending $20 on a cookbook this Christmas, spend it here.

Big Books: 1966

The books listed below are a small selection from the many gift books published this season. They are chosen on the basis of special interest to Nation *readers.*

CHINA. By Emil Schulthess. Viking Press. 172 pp. 100 black-and-white illus. 60 color plates. $25.

A photo-journalist's record of China today, examining the remarkable contrasts of its geography and people, with additional text by Edgar Snow, Harry Hamm and Emil Egli and an introduction by Hans Keller. Egli addresses himself to changes in geography and climate; Snow analyzes the factors which led China to adopt communism; Hamm discusses current Chinese problems. An aid in evaluating the changes that have occurred in China during the last two decades.

THE THREE BANNERS OF CHINA. By Marc Riboud. The Macmillan Company. 216 pp. 100 black-and-white illus. 50 color plates. $12.50.

Text and photographs, the result of a four-month, 16,000-mile trip in China in 1965. The Three Banners of the title are The People's Communes, The Great Leap Forward and the new General Party Line. Riboud was accompanied by K. S. Karol, a journalist, whose relationship to the work is not indicated. Of special interest is an excerpt from the writings of Mao Tse-tung and the translation of a death penalty notice which appears in one of the photographs.

THE GREAT PILGRIMAGE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By Vera and Hellmut Hell. With an introduction by Sir Thomas Kendrick. Clarkson N. Potter. 275 pp. 190 illus. 10 color plates. $17.50.

Photographs of the Romanesque and early Gothic buildings and art works along the road to, and including, St. James of Compostela in the beautifully preserved medieval city of Santiago, in the north of Spain. The text and introduction describe the legend of St. James, as well as the history of the pilgrimage.

THE GUELL PARK OF GAUDI: A MINIATURE UNIVERSE. By Carola Giedion-Welcker. Wittenborn & Co. 140 pp. 43 black-and-white illus. 35 color plates. $15.

Detailed color and black-and-white photographs of the Barcelona children's park designed by Antonio Gaudi, illustrating the strange, playful quality of this unique architect's bizarre, almost *art nouveau* effects. A four-language text (Spanish, German, English and French) places Gaudi as a Catalan sculptor in the Le Corbusier tradition. The English is faulty and inadvertently amusing.

LONDON, FLOWER OF CITIES ALL. By Richard Church. Illustrated by Imre Hofbauer. The John Day Co. 208 pp. $15.

A combined literary and pictorial assessment of the history, pageantry and visual beauty of London, illustrated in black-and-white drawings and four-color reproductions of paintings.

CAMBRIDGE. By Michael Grant. With an introduction by Noël Annan. Photographs by John Marmaras. William Morrow & Co. 192 pp. 90 black-and-white illus. 16 color plates. $15.

An account of Cambridge as a cultural and artistic center. The photographs show the city, the colleges and their treasures. A distinction is made between the merely quaint and picturesque and the good and first-rate.

AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF GERMANY. By André Maurois. Translated by Stephen Hardman. Viking Press. 296 pp. $22.50.

Forty full-page color plates and many more black-and-white illustrations dramatize the author's words, which attempt to see German history in the light of its art.

DAUMIER: MAN OF HIS TIME. By Oliver W. Larkin. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 245 pp. 100 black-and-white illus. 8 color plates. $9.95.

A full-length treatment of Daumier the man, the social and political satirist and the artist. The chronology of his oils, water colors and drawings are an indication of how he developed as a creative artist from youth to old age. The author is a Pulitzer Prize winner.

DAUMIER. By Robert Rey. Harry N. Abrams. 160 pp. 78 black-and-white illus. 48 color plates. $15.

Daumier in lithographs, drawings and paintings.

THE MAN FROM M.A.L.I.C.E. Caricatures by David Levine. With an introduction by Malcolm Muggeridge. E. P. Dutton & Co. 120 pp. $4.95.

A collection of more than 200 contributions to the *New York Review of Books, Esquire, Atlas* and *The Washington Post,* by a brilliant caricaturist of the political, social and literary scene.

THE GRAPHIC WORK OF PHILIP EVERGOOD. By Lucy R. Lippard. Crown Publishers. 160 pp. 176 black-and-white illus. $10.

The first extended study devoted to Evergood's graphic work. Predominantly social comment by an American artist who combines explicit realism with fantasy.

ECCE HOMO. By George Grosz. With an introduction by Henry Miller. Grove Press. 104 pp. 84 black-and-white illus. 16 color plates. $15.

A volume of reproductions by the German-born artist, originally published in 1923 and condemned at that time as

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"an insult to public morality." Corrosive portraits by an artist at war with the society he depicts. Grosz's work is well described by Henry Miller "as naked and ugly, as beautiful and eloquent, as truth itself."

TWO GREAT MASTERS OF UKIYO-E: FIFTY-THREE STAGES OF THE TOKAIDO. By Utakawa Hiroshige. THIRTY-SIX VIEWS OF MOUNT FUJI. By Katsushika Hokusai. Both edited by Ichitaro Kondo. English adaptation by Charles S. Terry. Boxed set. East-West Center Press. 212 pp. $24.50.

Full-color wood-block prints of Hiroshige's work which first made its appearance in 1834, and Hokusai's views of Mount Fuji, produced between 1823 and 1835.

2,000 YEARS OF CHRISTIAN ART. By Eric Newton and William Neil. Harper & Row. 318 pp. 200 black-and-white illus. 17 color plates. $9.95.

A collection of anonymous Byzantine artists and architects, as well as great masters of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. A study of iconography, structure and technique as they vary in different epochs and adapt to changes of Christian attitudes.

BIRDS OF THE NORTHERN FOREST. By John A. Livingston. Paintings by J. F. Lansdowne. Houghton Mifflin Co. 247 pp. 57 pencil sketches. 56 color plates. $20.

A comprehensive and beautifully illustrated study of the birds of Northern America and Canada.

—LITERARY EDITOR

Records: 1966 / Benjamin Boretz

In this annual listing, the "Records of the Year," are those conjunctions of performances and works that would constitute major musical events in any context. Following these, a number of other recordings released during 1966 that make worth while, if somewhat more limited, contributions to the recorded literature are listed according to their aspect of greatest interest: as adequate performances of important literature previously unavailable or inadequately represented on records; as responsible performances of frequently performed literature; as reissues of historic performances; or as reissues of more recent recordings lately out of print. Dates in parentheses refer to Nation *issues in which relevant discussions have appeared; records not previously reviewed will in most cases be discussed in forthcoming issues.*

I. RECORDS OF THE YEAR

BOULEZ: *Le Marteau sans maître.* Jeanne Deroubaix, alto; Severino Gazzeloni, alto flute; Georges van Gucht, xylorimba; Claude Ricou, vibraphone; Jean Batigne, percussion; Anton Stingl, guitar; Serge Collot, viola; Pierre Boulez, cond. Turnabout TV 4081/TV 34081S.

BRUCKNER: Symphonies Nos. 4, 7, 9. Columbia Symphony Orchestra; Bruno Walter, cond. Columbia D4L 342/D4S 742.

DAVIDOVSKY: Synchronisms Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Efrain Guigui, clarinet; Harvey Sollberger, flute; Sophie Sollberger, flute; Stanley Drucker, clarinet; Paul Zukovsky, violin; Robert Martin, cello. SOLLBERGER: Chamber Variations (1964). Group for Contemporary Music at Columbia University; Gunther Schuller, cond. CRI 204/204SD.

DVORAK: Symphonies Nos. 7, 8, 9. The Cleveland Orchestra; George Szell, cond. Epic SC 6065/BSC 155.

FINE: Symphony 1962. Irving Fine, cond. *Toccata Concertante*; *Serious Song* for String Orchestra. Boston Symphony Orchestra; Erich Leinsdorf, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 2829.

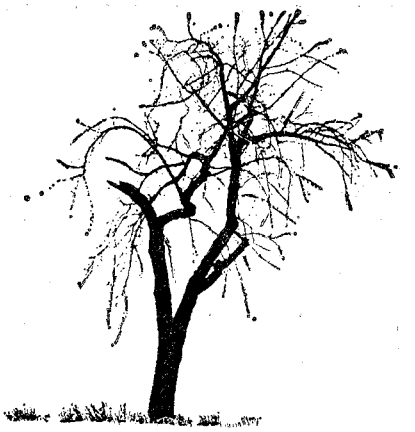
GLUCK: *Orfeo ed Euridice.* Shirley Verrett, Anna Moffo, Judith Raskin, vocalists; Instrumental Ensemble of the Collegium Musicum Italicum and The Virtuosi di Roma; Renato Fasano, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 6169.

HAYDN: "*Theresien*" Mass. Vienna Boys' Choir; Vienna Konzerthaus Chamber Orchestra; Ferdinand Grossman, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 2854.

JOSQUIN DES PREZ: Motets. Capella Antiqua of Munich; Konrad Ruhland, cond. Telefunken SAWT 9480-A.

MAHLER: Symphony No. 9. Columbia Symphony Orchestra; Bruno Walter, cond. *Das Lied von der Erde.* Mildred Miller, mezzo-soprano; Ernst Häfliger, tenor; New York Philharmonic Orchestra; Bruno Walter, cond. Columbia D3L 344/D3S 744. (10/24).

NEW MUSIC FOR PIANO. (including, notably, works by Babbitt, Berger, Miriam Gideon, Earl Kim, George



New England Saints

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There are two strains in the New England character—the Yankee trader and the Yankee saint. This book is devoted to the saints. The Puritans used the term saint to designate members of their church, but Mr. Warren's uncanonized saints are often a complex of scholar, priest, and poet—men whose spiritual integrity was their calling and vocation. This book brings to life New England spirituality from the Puritan poets to Irving Babbitt.

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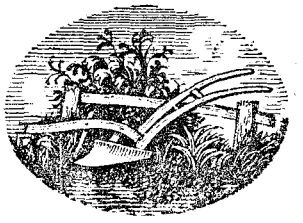

The New England Conscience

AUSTIN WARREN

The extreme rigor of the New England Conscience, that exaggerated sense of duty and obligation, caused psychological deformities but also helped assure the survival of the struggling colonies.

Austin Warren, himself a New Englander, examines the characteristic theological, psychological, historical, and literary manifestations of conscience through four centuries of New England history. Professor Warren offers this unique regional portrait with a rare blend of compassionate sympathy and critical detachment.

244 pages *$6.00*

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Richard Crashaw:
A Study in Baroque Sensibility

AUSTIN WARREN *272 pages $1.35*

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Perle and Mel Powell). Robert Helps, piano. RCA Victor LM/LSC 7042.

PUCCINI: *Turandot.* Birgit Nilsson, Franco Corelli, Renata Scotto, soloists; Rome Opera Chorus and Orchestra; Francesco Molinari-Pradelli, cond. Angel (S) CL-3671.

STRAVINSKY: *Le Baiser de la fée.* Columbia Symphony Orchestra; Igor Stravinsky, cond. Columbia ML 6203/MS 6803. (11/21).

STRAVINSKY: *Pulcinella.* Irene Jordan, soprano; George Shirley, tenor; Donald Gramm, bass; Columbia Symphony Orchestra; Igor Stravinsky, cond. Columbia ML 6281/MS 6881. (11/21).

VERDI: *Don Carlo.* Renata Tebaldi, Grace Bumbry, Carlo Bergonzi, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, Nikolai Ghiaurov, soloists; Chorus and Orchestra of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden; Georg Solti, cond. London A 4432/OSA 1432.

WAGNER: *Lohengrin.* Sándor Kónya, Lucine Amara, Rita Gorr, William Dooley, Jerome Hines, Calvin Marsh, soloists; Chorus Pro Musica of Boston; Boston Symphony; Erich Leinsdorf, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 6710.

II. Literature of Special Interest

BACH: St. John Passion. Kurt Equiluz, Max von Egmond, Jacques Villisch, Bert van t'Hoff, Siegfried Schneeweis, vocal soloists; Wiener Sängerknaben; Chorus Viennensia; Concentus Musicus, Vienna; Hans Gillesberger, cond. Telefunken SKH 19. (10/10).

BARTOK: Violin Concerto. STRAVINSKY: Violin Concerto. Joseph Silverstein, violin; Boston Symphony Orchestra; Erich Leinsdorf, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 2852. (5/9).

BEETHOVEN: *Missa Solemnis.* Gundula Janowitz, Christa Ludwig, Fritz Wunderlich, Walter Berry, soloists; Wiener Singverein; Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra; Herbert von Karajan, cond. DGG LPM 19208-9/SLPM 139208-9. (N.B. Another new recording of this work, conducted by Otto Klemperer [Angel 3679 (S)] is also available but has not yet been received for review.)

BOULEZ: *Le Soleil des eaux.* MESSIAEN: *Chronochromie* (with Koechlin: *Les Bandar-Log*); B.B.C. Symphony Orchestra and Chorus; Antal Dorati, cond. Angel (S) 36295. (5/2).

BRUCKNER: Symphony No. 1. Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra; Eugen Jochum, cond. Deutsche Grammophon LPM 19131/SLPM 139 131.

BRUCKNER: Symphony No. 9. *Te Deum.* Maria Stader, Sieglinde Wagner, Ernst Häfliger, Peter Lagger, soloists; Chorus of the Deutschen Oper, Berlin; Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra; Eugen Jochum, cond. Deutsche Grammophon LPM 19 19117-18/SLPM 139117-18.

BYRD: Consort Music. LAWES: Consort Music. Leonhardt Consort; Gustav Leonhardt, cond. Telefunken SAWT 9481-A.

CAMPION, Coperario, Gibbons, Locke and others: Florid Song and Viol Music in England, 1610-1660. Studio for Early Music; Concentus Musicus, Vienna. Telefunken SAWT 9472-A.

COPLAND: *Dance Symphony* (with Gould: *Spirituals for Orchestra*). Chicago Symphony Orchestra; Morton Gould, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 2850. (5/2).

COPLAND: *The Tender Land.* (Abridged Version). Joy Clements, Claramae Turner, Richard Cassily, Norman Treigle, Richard Fredericks, soloists; Choral Art Society; New York Philharmonic; Aaron Copland, cond. Columbia ML 6214/MS 6814.

DALLAPICCOLA: *Canti di Prigonia* (with Dallapiccola: Two Choruses of Michelangelo; Peragallo: *De Profundis*; Petrassi: *Nonsense*); Monteverdi-Chorus, Hamburg; Jürgen Jürgens, cond. Telefunken SLT 43095-B.

DONIZETTI: *Don Pasquale.* Anna Maccianti, Mario Basiola, Ugo Benelli, Augusto Frati, Alfredo Mariotti, soloists; Orchestra and Chorus of the Florence May Festival; Ettore Gracis, cond. Deutsche Grammophon LPM 18971-2/SLPM 138971-2.

DONIZETTI: *Lucrezia Borgia.* Montserrat Caballé, Ezio Flagello, Alfredo Kraus, Shirley Verrett, Giuseppe Baratti, Robert El Hage, soloists; RCA Italiana Opera Orchestra and Chorus; Jonel Perlea, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 6176.

DVORAK: String Quartet in A-flat, Op. 105 (with: Smetana: String Quartet); The Guarneri Quartet. RCA Victor LM/LSC 2887.

ELGAR: *The Dream of Gerontias.* Janet Baker, Richard Lewis, Kim Borg, soloists; Hallé Orchestra and Chorus; John Barbirolli, cond. Angel (S) B 3660.

FINE: Fantasy for String Trio. COPLAND: Trio: *Vitebsk.* CARTER: Woodwind Quintet. PISTON: Serenade (with works by Beethoven, Brahms and Mozart); Boston Symphony Chamber Players. RCA Victor LM/LSC 6167.

GOUNOD: *Messe Solennelle Ste. Cécile.* Irmgard Seefried, Gerhard Stolze, Hermann Uhde, soloists; Czech Sängerchor; Czech Philharmonic Orchestra; Igor Markevitch, cond. Deutsche Grammophon LPM 19111/SLPM 139 111.

HAYDN: *The Creation.* Ingeborg Wenglor, Gerhard Unger, Theo Adam, soloists; Berlin Radio Chorus and Orchestra; Helmut Koch, cond. Heliodor H/HS 25028-2.

HONEGGER: Symphonies Nos. 2 and 3. Czech Philharmonic; Serge Baudo, cond. Crossroads 22 16 0009/22 16 0010.

IVES: Symphony No. 2. *The Fourth of July.* New York Philharmonic Orchestra; Leonard Bernstein, cond. Columbia ML 6289/MS 6889.

MAHLER: Symphony No. 10 ("performing version" by Deryck Cooke). Philadelphia; Eugene Ormandy, cond. Columbia M2L 335/M2S 735. (10/24).

MONTEVERDI: Mass in Four Parts (1651) (with: *Laudate Pueri*; *Ut Queant Laxis*; and Mass in Four Parts (1640); The Choir of St. John's College, Cambridge; George Guest, cond. Argo ZRG 5494.

MOZART: Music for Solo Organ. "Mozart" Organ, Haarlem; E. Power Biggs, organist. Columbia ML 6256/MS 6856.

RACHMANINOFF: Symphony No. 2. London Symphony; André Previn, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 2899.

RAMEAU: *Hippolyte et Aricie.* Janet Baker, Angela Hickey, Robert Tear, John Shirley-Quirk, soloists; St. Anthony Singers; English Chamber Orchestra; Anthony Lewis, cond. L'Oiseau-Lyre (S) OL 286-7-8.

DE LA RUE: *Requiem.* Funeral Music, 1500-1550 by Brumel, Vaet, Senfl and others. Capella Antiqua, Munich; Konrad Ruland, cond. Telefunken (S) AWT 9471-A.

RUGGLES: *Sun Treader* (with Helps: Symphony No. 1); Columbia Symphony Orchestra; Zoltan Rosznyai, cond. Columbia ML 6201-MS 6801. (3/7).

TALLIS: Tudor Church Music (*Lamentations of Jeremiah*; *Videte Miraculum*; Lesson; *Sancte Deus*); Andrew Davis, organ; Choir of King's College, Cambridge; David Willcocks, cond. Argo ZRG 5479.

VARESE: *Arcana* (with Martin: Concerto for seven winds, percussion and strings); Chicago Symphony; Jean Martinon, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 2914.

III. Performances of Special Interest

BACH: Three Flute Sonatas. Elaine Schaffer, flute; George Malcolm, harpsichord. Angel (S) 36337.

BEETHOVEN: Piano Sonatas Nos. 11 in B-flat, 13 in E-flat, 27 in E minor;

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Wilhelm Kempff, piano. DGG LPM 18 939/SLPM 138 939.

BRAHMS: *Liebeslieder* Waltzes. Saramae Endich, Florence Kopleff, Seth McCoy, Theodor Uppman, vocal soloists; Claude Frank and Lillian Kallir, pianists; The Robert Shaw Chorale; Robert Shaw, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 2864.

BRUCKNER: Symphony No. 7 in E major (with Wagner: *Siegfried Idyll*; Prelude to *Lohengrin*); Columbia Symphony; Bruno Walter, cond. M2L 290/M2S 690.

BRUCKNER: Symphony No. 4. London Symphony Orchestra; Istvan Kertesz, cond. London CM 9480/CS 6480.

DONIZETTI: *Lucia di Lammermoor.* Anna Moffo, Carlo Bergonzi, Mario Sereni, Ezio Flagello, soloists; RCA Italiana Opera Orchestra and Chorus; Georges Prêtre, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 6170.

HANDEL: *Messiah.* Judith Raskin, soprano; Florence Kopleff, alto; Richard Lewis, tenor; Thomas Paul, bass; Robert Shaw Chorale and Orchestra; Robert Shaw, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 6175.

HAYDN: Symphonies Nos. 88 in G; 104 in D. The New Philharmonia Orchestra; Otto Klemperer, cond. Angel (S) 36346.

LISZT: The Operatic Liszt. *Hexameron* (Variations on the March from Bellini's *I Puritani* by Liszt, Thalberg, Pixis, Herz, Czerny and Chopin); *Réminiscences de Norma.* Raymond Lewenthal, piano. RCA Victor LM/LSC 2895.

MENDELSSOHN: Violin Concerto. TCHAIKOVSKY: Violin Concerto. Erick Friedman, violin; London Symphony Orchestra; Seiji Ozawa, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 2865.

MOZART: *The Abduction from the Seraglio* (with *Bastien and Bastienne*) Erika Köth, Fritz Wunderlich, Kurt Böhme; Chorus and Orchestra of the Bavarian State Opera, Munich; Eugen Jochum, cond. Deutsche Grammophon LPM 19 213-15/SLPM 139 213-5.

MOZART: Symphonies Nos. 29 in A; 33 in B-flat. New Philharmonic Orchestra; Otto Klemperer, cond. Angel (S) 36329.

RAVEL: Concerto in D for the Left Hand (1930-31). Concerto in G for Piano and Orchestra (1930-31). Monique Haas, piano; French National Orchestra; Paul Paray, cond. Deutsche Grammophon LPM 18988/SLPM 138988.

RAVEL: *Daphnis et Chloë.* Choeurs de la Radio Romande, Lausanne; Orchestre de la Suisse Romande, Geneva; Ernest Ansermet, cond. London CM 9456/CS 6456.

SCHUBERT: Four-Hand Piano Music. Paul Badura-Skoda, Jörg Demus, piano. Deutsche Grammophon LPM 39107/SLPM 139107.

SCHUBERT: *Die Winterreise.* Six Songs. Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, baritone; Jörg Demus, piano. Deutsche Grammophon LPM 19201-2/SLPM 139201-2. (5/9).

SCHUMANN: Symphony No. 1 in B-flat. "Manfred" Overture. New Philharmonia; Otto Klemperer, cond. Angel (S) 36353.

STRAVINSKY: *Perséphone.* Vera Zorina, Michele Molese, vocalists; Ithaca College Concert Choir; Texas Boys' Choir; Gregg Smith Singers; Columbia Symphony Orchestra; Igor Stravinsky, cond. Columbia ML 6319/MS 6919. (11/21).

VIRTUOSO: (virtuoso piano arrangements by Moriz Rosenthal, Leopold Godowsky, Rachmaninoff, Liszt, Tausig, of works by Chopin, Strauss, Mendelssohn, Schubert, Kreisler, Bizet); Charles Rosen, piano. Epic LC 3912/BC 1312.

IV: Reissues

BACH: *Magnificat.* PURCELL: Music for the Funeral of Queen Mary. Ilse Wolf, Helen Watts, Richard Lewis, Thomas Helmsley soloists; Geraint Jones Singers and Orchestra; Geraint Jones, cond. Seraphim 60001.

BEETHOVEN: Seven Bagatelles, Op. 33. Six Bagatelles, Op. 126. Bagatelles, "*Für Elise*," Fantasie, Op. 77. Artur Schnabel, piano. Angel COLH 66.

BRAHMS: Variations on a Theme by Haydn. HINDEMITH: *Nobilissime Visione.* Philharmonia Orchestra; Otto Klemperer, cond. Seraphim 60004.

PISTON: Quintet for piano and Strings. Earl Wild, piano; The Walden String Quartet (with Hovhaness: *Khaldis*); Helioder H/HS 25027.

MAHLER: *Songs of a Wayfarer. Kindertotenlieder.* Christa Ludwig, alto; Philharmonia Orchestra; Adrian Boult and André Vandernoot, conds. Seraphim 60026.

SCHUMANN: Concerto in A minor. *Etudes Symphoniques.* Myra Hess, piano. Philharmonia Orchestra; Rudolf Schwartz, cond. Seraphim 60009.

STRAUSS: *Alpine* Symphony. Bavarian State Orchestra; Richard Strauss, cond. Seraphim 60006.

WEILL: *Der Jasager.* Joseph Protoschka, Lys Bert, Willibald Vohla, soloists; Dusseldorf Children's Chorus and Chamber Orchestra; Sigfried Kohler, cond. Heliodor H/HS 25025.

ART

MAX KOZLOFF

It is already a commonplace to speak of the seriousness that underlies the levity of that marvelous aesthetic fourflusher and Fancy Dan, Saul Steinberg. With great relief, after contenting ourselves so long with his books and magazine cuts, we can now see a comprehensive show of his drawings at a sparkling two-gallery exhibition (Janis and Parsons.) Yet Steinberg, he of Chrysler Building *moderne* and Wurlitzer baroque, seems curiously out of date, at least in the topical expectations made by the context of satire. Even his current work still somewhat recalls the perforated wing-tip shoe and chromed tail-fin aggressions of the America he took affectionately to task in the fifties. But, of course, we are dealing with a displaced European sensibility; Steinberg is at once a refugee from the old world, however imbued he is with its traditions, and a nostalgic alien in the new one, however slangy his lingo. Like Nabokov in his cosmopolitanism, he also functions enigmatically between our normal images of caricature and art. This combination of clever culture and dainty whimsy perhaps distills that strange evasiveness which is the lasting flavor of the drawings on display.

I mean not the evasiveness of someone incapable of facing his responsibilities, but rather that of a person whose large talents are forced to seek a self-depreciating tone. That Spencerian doodling out loud, those oddly placed juvenilities, that casual sleight of hand are, it seems to me, various devices or strategies of an artist who finds the tongue-in-cheek the only appropriate response to an overwhelming Surrealist legacy. The urbane and bourgeois triviality of the *New Yorker* cartoon, therefore, turns out to be the coy cover-up of a rather Byzantine artist who has something more substantial to tell us.

With provocative glee, Steinberg is really kicking up his heels about the vagaries and ambiguities in the act of representation. His elaborate signatures, his unreadable official stamps, usually given in a vortex of narcissistic flourishes, may register as an unintended parallel to Abstract Expressionism, but his fascination with Cubism, its morphology and structure, revealed in the present drawings, probes his own identity as a creator.

A man who may indicate a room space by three simple lines can also discombobulate that space by writing upon it, or pasting gummed labels or drawing pictures or word balloons in total defiance of the cavity he has actually created. Needless to say, this is a sophisticated rather than a childish activity. And yet Steinberg will

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hold on to his retarded angularities in an almost self-protective manner. To see in them farfetched analogies with Cubist facet-planes, as he does, is really to put wit on the defensive. But additionally, it is to camouflage certain processes, now far removed from the spirit of parody. The famous *New Yorker* cartoon, in which a lady asks of a semi-Abstract painting, "What does it represent?," only to be answered by a figure in the picture itself jumping out to ask her, "What do *you* represent?," is very much to the point here. One of Steinberg's typical motifs is the spectator looking upon pictures from whose images he himself seems to have fled. It constitutes a major theme. Another prominent subject is that of the man who draws himself, or is it possibly the drawing who is drawing the man? (So much, at times, do they intertwine.) Both conditions lead somehow back to that of the artist who originally draws the real, as opposed to the "pictured," drawing. Occasionally, in fact, Steinberg seems to be drawing himself into a corner, or whirling off from a spiral or into a crossword-puzzle labyrinth. The cat whose tail imitates the French curves is not nearly as important as the spectacle of the man about to swat the question mark. Steinberg is running, to quote an old aphorism by Lichtenberg, "a little business in obscurantism." Those spidery reveries on other people's identities are evidently his own quests after himself. Such irreverencies as the palm tree in the Cubist landscape emerge as elements in a larger furor to create the artist's own terrain, and to populate it with authentic fantasies and pertinent comments.

Indeed, Steinberg, if he cannot be said to possess any one style, impresses as having a quite distinct personality. The ability to see microcosms in a macrocosm, to make notations in five or six highly variegated coded scripts, to utter large stage whispers: all these are aspects of a remarkably unique mind. Perhaps one of its most singular qualities is his talent in visualizing aural phenomena—it would be hard to call them precisely words or language—by a completely graphic metaphor. Often this concern appears in the tactile quality of lines proper. A scratchy or nervous, or overly fluid, staccato or dotted form of calligraphy constantly invokes sound, in differing matrices of pitch and rhythm and timbre. It is a twittering or squawky articulation for which Steinberg owes the most obvious precedent, of course, to Klee. But he can also materialize the hum of a voice, and even such things as social hypocrisy, by piling up mountains of verbiage emitted by a mouth shaping a mammoth cloud of the word "NO." Here Steinberg invites comparison with no one but himself and his own potentialities in extending and enriching the peculiar sarcasm of his inventions. I find his elegant sensitivity to the static and noise of the local surroundings one of his signal achievements. It prevents him, finally, from being overly illustrational, or too emphatically abstract. That this position has been purchased by the avoidance of all political content does not seem to have been too great a price to pay (even if political coloration had ever been his aim). Rather than the fey diableries of Ronald Searle, or the vulgar doggerel of Osborn, Steinberg speaks with the feral accents of a self-aware—and contained—artist.

Recently, with the addition of watery patches of color, he has moved toward consolidating the substance of his dream. Not merely has the formal effectiveness of his wiry lines been enhanced by contrast with his light brushy touches, but that larger lightness also, which is the aspiration of a truly playful imagination. The buoyancy that his discreet liquidity sometimes lends his subject may be best illustrated by a production called "Mask of Landscape." Four horizontal rows of five, post-card sized, blotted water-color landscapes are arranged in a chart formation. The eye shifts across from left to right, and then from top to bottom: river bank, flat plain, rocky shore and finally, mountain vista, the whole sequence rolling by panoramically. In each tableau there is a perfectly accurate equivalent of a sensory impression, rendered through nothing more controlled than a faint blur. The mind is startled by this staggering implication of its own omniscience, as if it could overleap very definite barriers to its perception of time and place in a cramped, discontinuous format. And yet this perception is dealt out straightforwardly, if miraculously, like four very lucky hands at poker. Along with that other unforgettable image from the earlier collection called "The Passport," of a fingerprint substituting for a man's face, this "Mask of Landscape," denying definition at certain vital points, becomes a cipher in the search for identity. Only here, the identity is the coherence and integration of faculties which are simultaneously harassed and flattered by the simplest pictorial maneuvers, or better, displacements. Altogether, Steinberg offers an entertainment so rare as hardly to be seen in a gallery, but also so touching as to give a glimpse of his own vulnerability.

Books by NATION Contributors

We are pleased to list below books published in 1966 by writers who contributed to The Nation *during the past year. This compilation—a regular year-end feature—includes books published in England, showing equivalent prices in dollars, available on special order from most booksellers.*

V. L. ALLEN. *Militant Trade Unionism.* Merlin Press (England). $1.75.

JOHN BEECHER. *To Live and Die in Dixie.* Red Mountain Editions. $5. $2 paper.

ERIC BENTLEY. *Manual of Piety* (translation of *Die Hauspostille* by Bertolt Brecht). Bilingual edition. Grove. $10.

Edward II (translation of Bertolt Brecht). Grove. $1.45 paper.

JOHN BERGER. *Corkers Freedom.* Panther (London). 70c paper.

The Success and Failure of Picasso. Penguin. $2.25 paper.

HAROLD J. BERMAN. *Soviet Criminal Law and Procedure: The RSFSR Codes* (with James W. Spindler). Harvard University Press. $11.95.

The Nature and Functions of Law (with William R. Greiner). Foundation Press (2nd edition). $9.75.

ROBERT BLY, editor. *The Sea and the Honeycomb.* Sixties Press. $2. $1 paper.

A Poetry Reading Against the Vietnam War. Editor (with David Ray). Sixties Press. $1 paper.

ELISABETH MANN BORGESE. *The White Snake.* MacGibbon and Kee (London). $4.20.

T. B. BOTTOMORE. *Elites and Society* (reprint). Penguin. 85c paper.

Classes in Modern Society (American edition with postscript). Pantheon. $2.95.

EDWARD J. BROWN. *Stankevich and His Moscow Circle, 1830-1840.* Stanford University Press. $5.

KEITH BUCHANAN. *The Chinese People and the Chinese Earth.* Bell (England). $3.75.

RICHARD CARTER. *Breakthrough: The Saga of Jonas Salk.* Trident. $5.95.

Superswine. Trident. $3.95.

CURTIS W. CASEWIT. *How to Get a Job Overseas.* Arco. $5. $3 paper.

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Accent on Treason. Venice Publishers. 50c paper.

FRED J. COOK. *The Corrupted Land*. Macmillan. $5.95.

The Secret Rulers. Meredith. $6.95.

RICHARD HAUER COSTA. *H. G. Wells*. Twayne. $3.95.

VERN COUNTRYMAN. *The Lawyer in Modern Society* (with Ted Finman). Little, Brown, $13.

MINA CURTISS. *Letters of Marcel Proust*. Vintage. $1.95 paper.

DAVID CORNEL DEJONG. *The Squirrel and the Harp*. (Juvenile.) Macmillan. $2.95.

ISAAC DEUTSCHER. *Stalin, A Political Biography*. Penguin (England).

Ironies of History. Oxford University Press. $5.75.

WILLIAM EASTLAKE. *Castle Keep* (reprint). Fawcett. 75c paper.

ROBERT S. ELEGANT. *A Kind of Treason*. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. $3.95.

RICHARD M. ELMAN. *The Poorhouse State: The American Way of Life on Public Assistance*. Pantheon. $5.95.

F. M. ESFANDIARY. *Identity Card*. Grove. $4.95.

CLAYTON ESHLEMAN. *State of the Union* (translations of poems of Aimé Cesaire). Caterpillar Press. 75c.

The Chavin Illumination (poem). La Rama Florida (Lima). $3. Both distributed by Asphodel Bookshop, Cleveland, O.

BERNARD B. FALL. *Viet-Nam Witness, 1953-1966*. Praeger. $6.95.

Hell in a Very Small Place. Lippincott. $8.95.

LAWRENCE FERLINGHETTI. *Starting from San Francisco* (poems, new edition). New Directions. $1.95 paper.

EDWARD FIELD. *Stand Up, Friend, With Me* (reprint). Evergreen. $1.45 paper.

DANIEL FORD. *Now Comes Theodora* (reprint). Avon. 75c paper.

JEAN GARRIGUE. *The Animal Hotel*. Eakins. $3.95.

WILLIAM H. GASS. *Omensetter's Luck*. New American Library. $5.95.

JOHN GERASSI. *The Great Fear in Latin America*. Collier. $1.50 paper.

The Boys of Boise. Macmillan. $5.95.

FEDERICO G. GIL. *The Political System of Chile*. Houghton Mifflin. $4.95. $2.95 paper.

DAVID J. GORDON. *D. H. Lawrence as a Literary Critic*. Yale University Press. $4.75.

ANNE HALLEY. *Between Wars & Other Poems*. Oxford University Press. $2.80.

SMITH HEMPSTONE. *A Tract of Time*. Houghton Mifflin. $5.95. Fawcett. 60c paper.

SANDRA HOCHMAN. *The Vaudeville Marriage*. Viking. $3.95.

FREDERICK H. HOFFMAN. *The Mortal No* (reprint). Princeton University Press. $2.45 paper.

The Little Magazine (photo-offset reprint). Evans. $18.

JEFFRY KAPLOW. *New Perspectives on the French Revolution*. Wiley. $6.95. $3.95 paper.

HENRY S. KARIEL. *The Promise of Politics*. Prentice-Hall. $1.95 paper.

SIMON KARLINSKY. *Marina Cvetaeva, Her Life and Art*. University of California Press. $7.25.

GALWAY KINNNELL. *Black Light*. Houghton Mifflin. $3.95.

EDWARD A. KOLODZIEJ. *The Uncommon Defense and Congress: 1945-63*. Ohio State University Press. $7.50.

HILDA KUPER (co-editor with Leo Kuper). *African Law: Adaptation and Development*. University of California Press. $7.50.

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LETTERS *(continued from page 658)*

missing pieces of the jigsaw puzzle. For example, the appearance on this "guest list" of Thomas R. Waring, editor of the Charleston (S.C.) *News and Courier,* explains the seemingly unusual attention given to our program by Mr. Waring's paper:

> Most of the material used by ETV in this state has been first rate. . . . Unfortunately, the ETV network dropped a ball Friday night in presenting the first part of a two part series entitled "The Fruit of Fear." The producer of the program is Henry Morgenthau, grandson and namesake of one of the early leaders of the New Deal. The program purported to be a fair analysis of conditions in the Republic of South Africa. It was completely slanted against that anti-Communist country. . . .

The SAIS in New York has distributed reprints of an editorial in the Phoenix *Gazette* (Nov. 4) whose editor, Edwin A. Fitzhugh, was on the 1966 "guest list." I quote in part from this editorial "thank you note":

> While Africans in Guinea attack the U.S. embassy and defile the American flag, Arthur J. Goldberg schemes in the United Nations to hand a vast slice of southern Africa over to just such people. . . . (He) could have stopped the irresponsible Afro-Asian bloc from pushing through the General Assembly a resolution proclaiming that the mandate held by the Republic of South Africa over the old German territory of Southwest Africa was at an end. . . . We say "ridiculous" in the hope that the resolution will prove to be only that, and not a tragedy for the world exceeding in gravity the American involvement in Viet Nam. . . . The risks are such as no American should wish to invite, particularly since right seems more on South Africa's side than otherwise."

My thanks to *The Nation* and Mr. Pollock for focusing attention on an area of the world which gets less attention than it deserves from "independent" U.S. journalists. *Henry Morgenthau III*

consolations of piety

Rochester, Mich.

DEAR SIRS: One does not know whether to rejoice or to cry over the recent statement of American Catholic bishops supporting the war in Vietnam provided it does not exceed reasonable moral limits. Does that mean that Catholics can now feel quite free to drop bombs, napalm, kill peasant children, sanction torture and produce illegitimate babies in Vietnam, but must regard themselves as in a state of sin if they practice contraception? . . . It is quite true that nothing will ever supplant the consolations of piety. *Harold Fromm*

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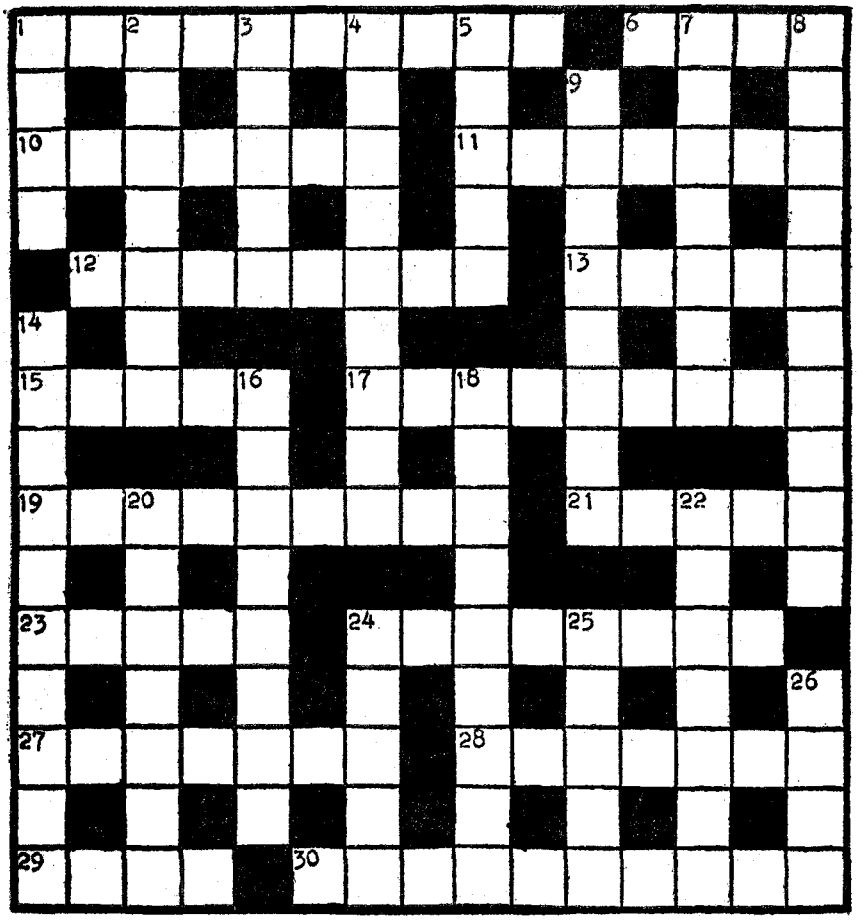
Crossword Puzzle No. 1180

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Such an unusual shade is not affected by shock. (10)
6 It may be the end of the choir, and perhaps even shows it. (4)
10 State briefly what some crazy people do inside a boat. (7)
11 and 29 A rising spot implying a fighting period in China to the baker. (7, 4)
12 You might not be pleased with her to see it rain hard! (8)
13 Bible town in France? (5)
15 It takes footwork to sell something, by the sound of it. (5)
17 New teashop to provide for one with some practice. (9)
19 This might help you along with a light "boom"! (9)
21 Sobriquet for Mac, paired with the last of 4. (5)
23 Proficient at making a little division of the business? (5)
24 Even the less experienced constabulary might so serve! (2, 1, 5)
27 In the end, vice has to be proven! (7)
28 Watch out for the position of the bishop! (7)
29 See 11 across
30 Do they also serve on the distaff side?

DOWN:

1 and 26 Quality, when of Triumph and Cunning? (8)
2 and 18 A fair share of the activity of a revolutionary scout? (4, 3, 4, 5)
3 What this was in reply to Captain Corcoran's statement of health? (5)
4 The dark loaf's on the table, intended for one course. (5, 4)
5 Is he made tipsy when he is wined? (5)
7 A broken headstone marker, astringent when coming up in the garden. (7)
8 One of two classes reputedly touched by the heat of twelve? (10)
9 General retreat might be implied by a cut under the nail. (8)
14 and 24 down What Columbus was looking for was certainly novel! (1, 7, 2, 5)
16 They were reputedly struck several hours later than those referred to in 8.
18 See 2 down
20 One might have to in return, if accounts raise skepticism. (7)
22 Cuts in. (7)
24 See 14 down
25 Hardly a good name for an Amazon.
26 See 1 down

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1179

ACROSS: 1 Bar Association; 9 and 24 Armored cars; 10 Arrange; 11 In-laws; 12 Asphodel; 14 Sporran; 15 Piped; 17 Edges; 19 Enisled; 21 Eyeglass; 23 Scarce; 25 Tantara; 27 Dress-designers. DOWN: 1 Beatitude; 2 and 21 down Rumble seats; 3 Straw boss; 4 and 26 Odds and ends; 5 In absentia; 6 Torch; 7 Owned up; 8 Real; 13 Greensward; 15 Police dog; 16 Dispenses; 18 Gleaner; 20 Durance; 22 Loads.

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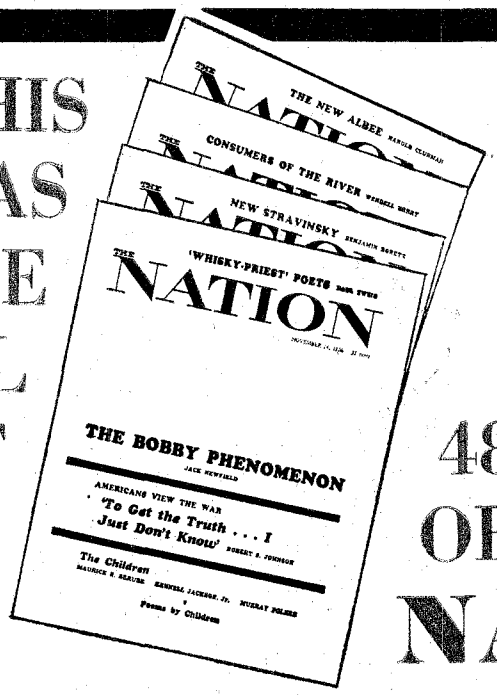

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